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THE STORY OF THE NATIONS

MODERN FRANCE

1789–1895

BY

ANDRÉ LEBON

MEMBER OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

NEW YORK
G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
LONDON: T. FISHER UNWIN
1901

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE is some difficulty in compressing into one volume the history of a century so rich in ideas, in events and in men as the present period has been in France. Such an effort at reduction necessitates the elimination of all that is picturesque in the facts to be related, leaving only their substance, and all attempt at giving any portrait of the personages whose acts are narrated in their results alone.

It has struck me, however, that even so brief a summary may not be useless, since the principal characteristics of our century, which are now to be found scattered throughout various special histories, when brought together and united may furnish to the reader their own peculiar contingent of instruction.

I shall not dwell on the nature of this instruction, but prefer to leave the facts to speak for themselves, rather than to suggest reflections which might be attributed to party-spirit.

I owe to the reader also a few words on the method which I have endeavoured to follow, as well as on the general conception of the work.

My method, if somewhat unusual, is at any rate of an extreme simplicity, since it consists in relating accomplished facts, and seeking their origin not in the circumstances which render them difficult of comprehension, but in those which make them explicable. That is to say, where a political system has failed, I have tried to show its obvious defects and not its hidden virtues.

As to my conception of the book, it was imposed upon me by the subject itself. After the formidable outbreak of the French Revolution and the events of the French Empire, civil equality triumphed, but all problems connected with the political organisation of the country, with public liberty and the advent of democracy, remained unsolved, and while the first phase ran its course, power was centred in a propertied middle class extremely restricted in number. This phase ended in two revolutions—the Revolution of 1830, which the middle class itself got up in order to break the power of royalty; and that of 1848, promoted by the Democracy against the middle class, which had shown itself too inert and too shortsighted to extend the suffrage in proper time.

From 1848 to 1870 there lasted a second phase, during which the electorate, now recruited by universal suffrage and master all at once of the situation, chose to abdicate its functions in favour of a dictator rather than see its sovereignty called in question by the old political parties. And once again liberty was the sufferer. It had failed to secure the progressive development of parliamentary institutions, and was thrust aside in order that popular Right, which is political equality, might proclaim its power unmistakably.

After the ruin and the shame of the Second Empire, equality still subsisted and liberty returned. France is at present engaged on the task of finding a *modus vivendi* for both which shall contribute to the progress of democracy. The undertaking is all the more difficult that the instruction of the people, which ought to have preceded the change, has lagged slowly after it, so that the nation's initiation into normal conditions of political life was not made either under the repression from which the previous generation suffered, nor during the struggle for existence imposed upon the Republic by the National Assembly and later in 1889 and 1893.

The author would be glad if these pages might prove to those who read them that it is not by flying from one excess to another that a great people can achieve freedom and occupy a becoming place in the world.

PARIS, 1897.

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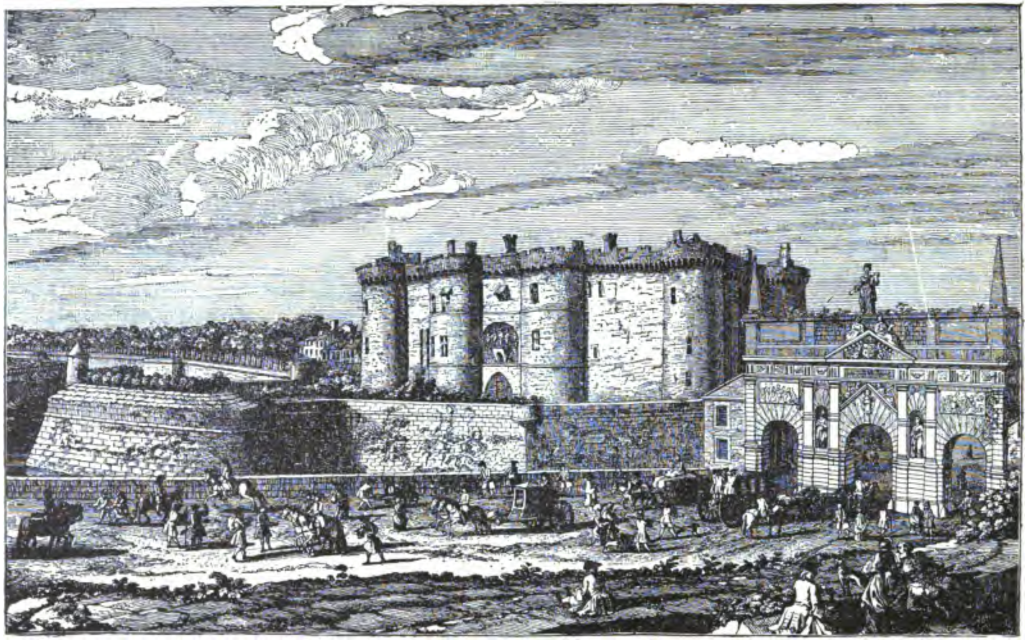


THE BASTILLE.

must be numbered among the writers most to be relied upon in their description of the Ancient Régime, summed up the situation by saying, "Taxation fell not upon those who could best pay it, but upon those who could least escape it."

Such a system, although fundamentally unjustifiable, might at least be tolerable if accompanied by good government; but it could not survive either the disastrous wars under Louis XV. or the economic and financial crises which marked the reign of Louis XVI.

Our brief sketch suffices to show what were the chief features of the Revolution. First it involved social change—that is to say, the disappearance of privileges; then it had to effect a political readjustment which should render the restoration of privileges impossible, by limiting the power of the monarch who conferred them.

But it is remarkable that against the actual monarch himself there was no feeling of hatred. The people, in their complaints, distinguished between the King and his Court, just as they separated religion from the priests. In the beginning, at any rate, the people were neither anti-monarchical nor anti-clerical, and they only became so when the King and the Church eventually identified themselves with the abuses which had to be destroyed.

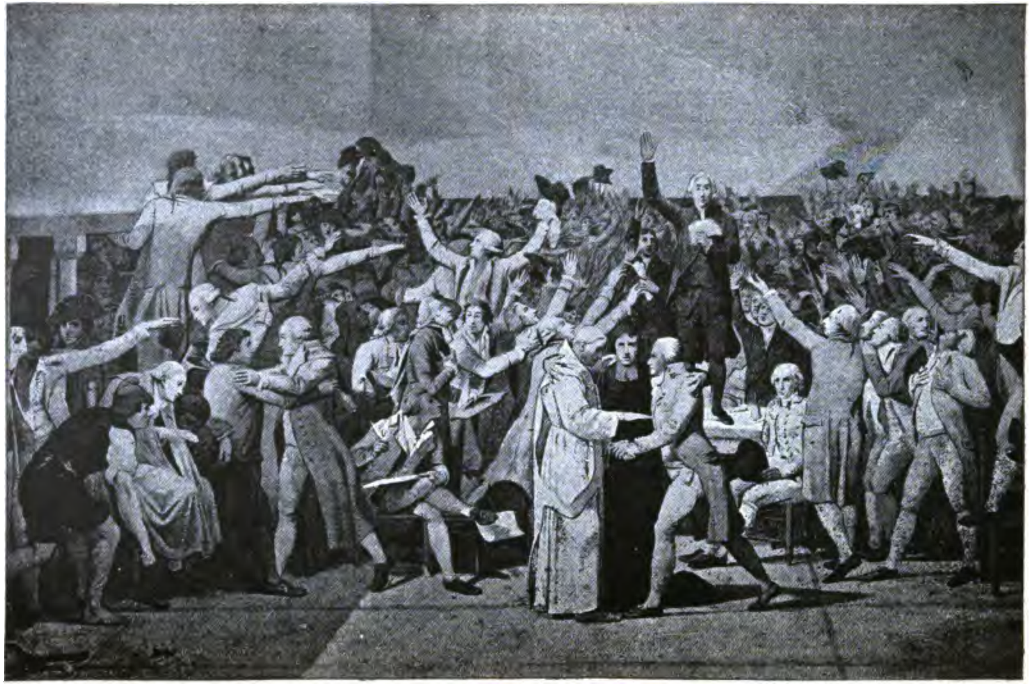
Consequently, when Louis XVI. was forced by want of money to summon the States-General, there was no decidedly revolutionary tendency to be detected either in the meetings held for the election of deputies or in the lists of grievances (*cahiers de doléances*) which it was customary to submit to candidates. Hardly even any apprehension was expressed lest the deputies should not employ full freedom of deliberation.

No question of political organisation was raised, only a general resolute demand formulated for individual liberty, inviolability of property, equality of imposts, and prohibition of any levy of taxes without the consent of the nation. Briefly, the people, on being consulted after a silence of two centuries, assigned to their representatives a task of social reconstruction, but did not indicate the measures to be taken to this end. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the political aspect of the situation had to be faced from the very first day.

The States-General met at Versailles on May 5, 1789.

According to precedent the members of each estate should have deliberated apart from the others, thus in a manner forming three Chambers with distinct respective interests.

But the Third Estate, representing as it did the middle class, composed the most numerous of the three orders, and aimed directly at suppressing the privileges of the other two. It could not allow the decisions it might arrive at to be subject to the consent of the other interested parties, and consequently demanded that all three orders should meet in a Plenary Assembly, and the vote of the majority be taken. On the 17th of June the Third Estate proclaimed itself a National Assembly, and in the



TENNIS COURT OATH.

famous Session of the Tennis Court swore not to separate again until it had given a Constitution to France. But the clergy and the nobility, impressed with the danger of the situation, could not allow themselves to be absorbed, and they were supported by the King, who, in a sitting on the 23rd of June, declared that he would only consent to a Plenary Assembly when neither property nor privilege were at stake, and when there should be no question of any rules for ulterior convocations of the States-General. In other words, he refused to allow a total poll on the only occasions when it would be necessary.

Open war was thus declared, but only for a moment. Already, by the 27th of the same month the King had come to see that he must yield to the immovable resolution of the Third Estate, additionally fortified as this was by the support of the lower clergy and the small nobility.

He allowed the three orders to assemble, but his reluctance and hesitation had bred distrust of him, and the Revolution had commenced, although it was not yet accomplished.

And out of the very circumstances accompanying these incidents arose the ideas which were to reign in the Constituent Assembly, and of which our own times still feel the influence.

The desire to confer a Constitutional Monarchy on France was unanimous, and would probably so have remained for a long time, but for the repeated mistakes committed by the King and the Court party.

Already two schools of thought were formed, one rationalist, the other historical; but the former was destined to absorb the latter without any prevision of the extremes to which its own doctrines would lead it.

The leaders of the historical school were men like Mounier and Malouet, who professed themselves disciples of Montesquieu and accepted his teachings in regard to England. We need not here inquire whether the great thinker really did describe the English Constitution as it existed in the eighteenth century, or whether his conception of it was an abstract and consequently incorrect one. The fact remains that the historical school chiefly represented the ideas which Montesquieu had introduced to the world of thought, and recommended a more or less faithful imitation of English political methods: that is to say, the separation of the executive, legislative, and judiciary powers, and the appointment of two Chambers. Now, if the first of these demands was justified in the first instance by the abuses which had arisen in France, thanks to the inextricable confusion of powers under the Ancient Régime, it came to be discredited later, as we shall see, by the absurdities of its application; while as to the second, it suffered at this time from the same objections in the eyes of the country as that separate deliberation of the three orders to which the people had refused consent. For it was not possible to conceive the idea of an Upper House where the privileged classes might sit alone just at this moment when the predominating aim was to establish the civil and fiscal equality of all classes.

To the rationalist school the meaning of the situation was clear. This school was permeated with the ideas of Rousseau on Natural Rights, and not finding in French traditions any elements for a new political order guaranteeing the liberties of the people, it followed Sièyes along a path of political speculation often just in principle, but erroneous in application. Thus, while accepting the separation of powers it pushed the principle to such lengths as to demand a permanent Legislative Assembly, which the Executive should have no power to dissolve, whose decisions should be independent, and none of whose members could be a minister.

The rationalists did not indeed reject *a priori* a plurality of Chambers, and went so far as to admit that there might even be three; but they started by saying that where the framing of a Constitution was in question, the existence of one Assembly only would best ensure the unanimous expression of the national will.

And the Constitution once made, it was extremely unreasonable, they maintained, to form three Chambers of which the component classes were mutually at variance, the only true method being to divide the Third Estate into three equal parts.[1]

On the one hand there was distrust of the Executive, resulting as well from past errors as from the hesitating and reactionary attitude of the Court when the Revolution first broke out; on the other was the almost insurmountable difficulty, at so critical a moment, of practically defining the various powers of government and limiting their respective fields; and in the situation thus created we find the origin of all the mistakes inevitably committed by the Revolutionists. Moreover, in addition to class distinction, there were other privileges peculiar to provinces, municipalities, and corporations, and these, joined to local custom, were opposed in spirit to that uniform and united government of which, otherwise, the need was general.

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[1] Thus Sièyes in his celebrated pamphlet on the Third Estate.

This same need became more pressing later, when a coalition of foreign sovereigns threatened the territorial independence of France, and forced the new government to adopt a more centralised method of administration than had prevailed under the Ancient Régime.

France desired renovation, yet in her past history found no precedent for any change, and the Revolutionists being thus driven to seek in a humanitarian philosophy the formula of their rights and the realisation of their hopes, were inevitably committed from the first to a policy of expansion. Mirabeau, one of the few really political spirits of the time, wrote in his Diary: "Before troubling ourselves so magnanimously with the codes of other nations, we might have laid, if not completed, the foundations of our own."

But this was not to be. An impulse of a different order had made itself felt, and the true aim of the Revolution was forgotten.

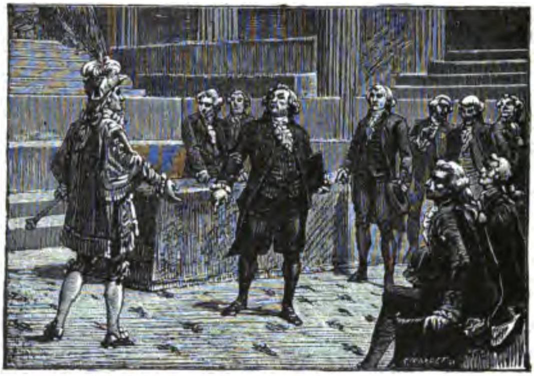
"The lost title-deeds of humanity must be found again," was a current phrase of the moment, and Dupont, an influential member of the Constituent

Assembly, boldly announced: "Our aim is to make a Declaration of Rights which shall serve for all men, all times, and all countries, and be an example to the whole world." And from this notion sprang the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man, drafted by the Assembly on the 26th of August.

The document was far more practical in its tenure than might appear on a first reading, for each one of the principles formulated responded to a need of the moment. But the phrasing and general tone were too abstract and philosophical, and the real meaning of the proclamation being thus obscured, it was easily twisted by acute critics into a sense never intended by its authors.

"Men at birth are all free and entitled to the same rights," said the famous Declaration, such rights being further defined as consisting primarily of liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression. Sovereignty is vested in the whole nation; liberty consists in being able to do whatever does not injure others; the law may only forbid actions which are harmful to society, and is limited to the expression of the general will. The law must be equal for all, and all citizens, either personally or through their representatives, are entitled to assist in the framing of laws.

On these general statements followed a number of more definite assertions—to wit, all citizens to be qualified for posts in the public service without any other distinction than that afforded by differences of ability; no man to be arrested or detained unless by permission, and in conformity with the law; no penal laws to be made retrospective in their action; liberty of opinion, even in religious questions, unless the manifestation of any such opinion constitute an interference with public order; right of free speech, writing and printing, but with full responsibility for the abuse of such authorisation; equal incidence of taxation according to each person's income; the right accorded to all citizens of fixing taxation and superintending its application; finally, express prohibition of any seizure of another person's property unless after payment of a provisional indemnity. In one point only did the Declaration touch on an organic question, and that was by affirming that unless rights be guaranteed and powers clearly defined, no people can be said to possess a Constitution. The principle thus vaguely and doubtfully formulated served within ten years to render



MIRABEAU AND DREUX-BRÉZÉ.

the Executive and Legislative almost strangers to one another, to subordinate the first to the second, and finally to deprive the Legislative of all real power, and concentrate authority in the hands of a group of irresponsible functionaries.

But while the thinkers of the Assembly thus gave the rein to their academic tendencies, the realities of the moment were emerging more and more distinctly, and the true meaning of the Revolution soon became apparent.

The Court was far from accepting as irrevocable its own capitulation of the 27th of June. Already it was preparing a counter-stroke, and did not shrink from the idea of employing violence if necessary, troops composed for the most part of foreign mercenaries being concentrated to this end around Paris and Versailles. Some partial riots had already taken place in Paris, and these assumed the form of a veritable insurrection when it was suddenly made known on the 11th of July that the King had dismissed Necker, who at this time was considered the only man capable of restoring the ruined finances of the kingdom, and of affording to the Constituent Assembly the political satisfaction which it craved.

On the 12th Camille Desmoulins harangued the people in the garden of the Palais Royal, and incited them to resist by armed force the threatened movement of reaction. The next day the mob invaded the Hotel des Invalides, and seized all the old guns, sabres, and pieces of cannon which were to be found, while at the same time artisans were busily engaged in manufacturing thousands of pikes. On the 14th an angry and menacing crowd assembled in front of the Bastille.

This ancient stronghold, still formidable for defence, towered over the spot where the column of July now stands, and had long been used as a State prison.

To the popular mind it was a hated symbol of tyranny and despotism, and this sentiment explains the march to its gates of the mob at a moment when behind these no prisoner of note happened to be confined.

De Launay and his Swiss guards defended the fortress for several hours, and the assailants lost two hundred of their number before their attack was crowned with victory. They avenged their fallen comrades by murdering De Launay and his lieutenants, and began at once to dismantle the execrated walls.

On learning what had happened in Paris, Louis gave yet another proof of his vacillating and feeble nature. He followed the bad advice of his courtiers, only to show himself incapable of facing the consequences of his own acts. He hastily recalled Necker, sent away the foreign regiments, and, the better to mark his submission to the popular will, he determined to leave Versailles and take up his residence in Paris. Bailly, a former President of the Assembly, was appointed mayor of the capital, while Lafayette was called to the organisation and command of the National Guard, which was immediately decorated with the tricolor cockade.[1]

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[1] Blue and red are the municipal colours of Paris, while white was the badge of the old monarchy.

By all these acts the King delivered himself into the hands of men who had just learnt how to compel his obedience, while he still listened to the warnings against these same men of his shortsighted and reactionary courtiers.

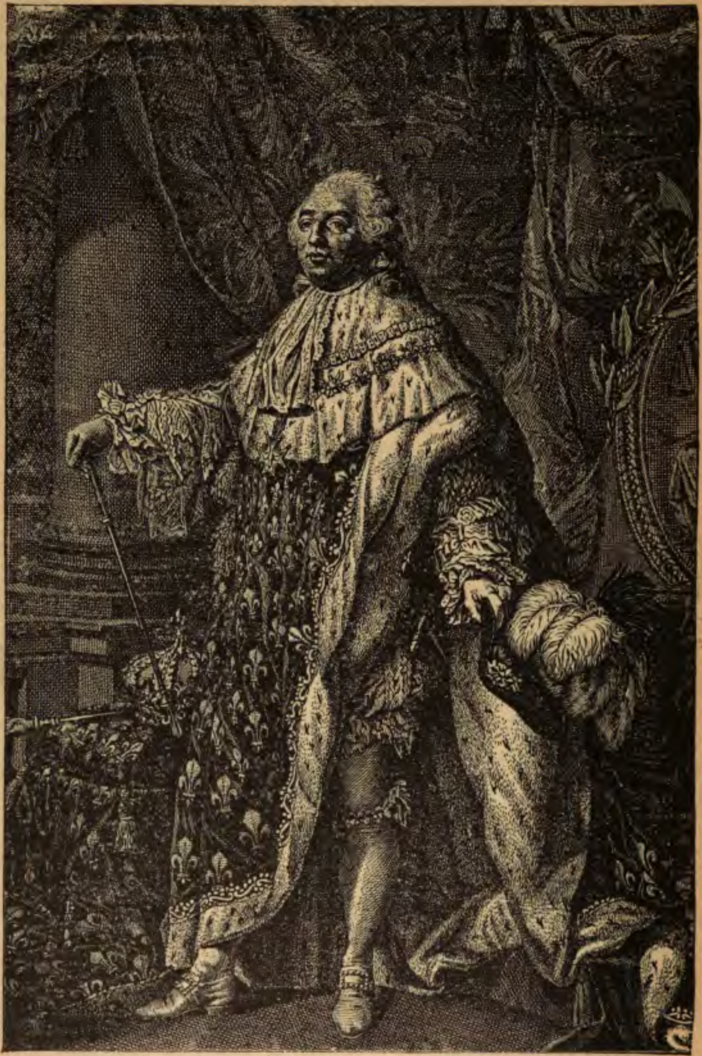
The provinces felt the countershock of the fall of the Bastille, and while in Paris the people had destroyed the symbol of royal despotism, in Burgundy and the Valley of the Rhone the peasants attacked and set fire to chateaux and convents, believing that by destroying all archives they would free themselves for good from the tyranny of feudal rights and dues.

The movement spread rapidly through the country, and the propertied classes, unable to defend themselves, adopted the simpler plan of voluntarily surrendering privileges of which they must otherwise be deprived by force.

Thus it happened that on the famous night of the 4th of August the Assembly witnessed a long procession of nobles and churchmen, who, fired by a noble impulse of enthusiasm and renunciation, had come of their own accord to abdicate their feudal rights, and to receive in return a promise of pecuniary indemnity.

But all this time the Court was obstinately bent upon resistance, and neither the Declaration of Rights, nor the defeat of the so-called English party in the Committee charged by the Assembly with the drafting of a Constitution, could disarm the hostility of the reactionary aristocrats.

Some insensates even tried to persuade the King, who had returned to Versailles for the summer, to summon foreign troops once more around him. A



LOUIS XVI.

royalist demonstration, manufactured by the same faction, took place on the 1st of October in the theatre at Versailles, when the white cockade was hoisted, and the tricolor—emblem of the new movement—trampled under foot.

The Parisians—already exasperated by famine consequent on two successive bad harvests—fell into a frenzy at this news, and a compact crowd of famished men and women marched to Versailles at the head of the helpless National Guards, forced their way into the palace, and obliged the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin to return on the 6th of October to Paris, whither the Assembly soon followed.

This time the Government was truly in thrall to the populace. The slightest riot became a matter of grave import, for exasperation grew steadily in the capital, where the populace every day saw fresh noble *émigrés* depart for the foreign courts, whither already, at the end of July, the King's nearest relatives had gone to seek assistance against the revolutionists.

The Revolution had been born only six months, yet already it had entered upon a new phase. Political and social merely in the beginning, it had now assumed a national and patriotic character, and in the light of these new sentiments the attitude of the King and the nobles, by giving rise to a suspicion not merely of retrogade tendencies, but also of high treason, intensified the popular irritation, and drove the Government into arbitrary acts of defence against the rising peril from without.

This was the origin of the various repressive measures which culminated in the Reign of Terror. The idea of liberty, growing ever fainter, was gradually superseded by a Dictatorship and an excessive centralisation of authority, which, after serving the ends of the Committee of Public Salvation, resulted in a military despotism.

But events of which the germs were latent in the first months of the Revolution were only to develop fully later on, under the pressure of circumstances. Until nearly the end of 1790 the Assembly was occupied chiefly with the civil and military reforms required by the country, and the ground covered by these strenuous and fertile efforts was indeed of marvellous extent.

The division of France into departments, districts, cantons, and communes, decreed on the 16th of January, 1790, was principally intended to efface the old provincial landmarks and thus to destroy the longstanding privileges which the clergy, the nobility, and even the Third Estate of the towns had preserved in the local systems of administration. And in a similar spirit, by suppressing the Trade Guilds or merchants' companies, whose vexatious restrictions hampered the free development of commerce and industry, the Government sought to foster individual enterprise. The same object inspired the dissolution of the old Parliaments (provincial Courts of Justice) and the suppression of all feudal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to which succeeded a form of justice common to the whole country, and the promise of a uniform code which was to complete national unity while rendering the forms of law easier and more generally accessible.

Doubtless the reforms were carried too far, and local life was so effectually extinguished that, with a few exceptions, it has never recovered. Indignation at the abuses of the Guilds led to a total prohibition of all spontaneous associations, and this anomaly has not yet quite disappeared from the statute-book. The venality which had reigned in the law courts seemed so monstrous that it was decided to have only elective judges and to limit the period of their functions to ten years.

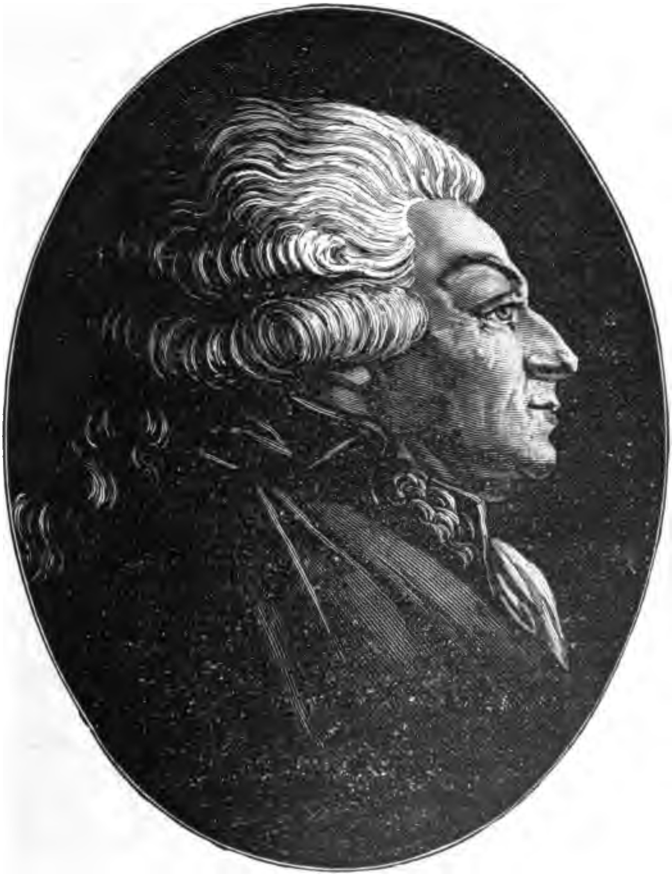
But in spite of these exaggerations, the reforms were certainly in harmony with the aspirations of the people, as is proved by the fact of their having survived the Revolution, and stamped France with the characteristics by which we know it to-day. The destruction of the nobility and clergy as privileged classes was rapidly achieved. Primogeniture and entail were abolished; the absolute equality of all citizens, nobles or others, in the eye of the law was proclaimed, and the obligation imposed upon parents to divide their property equally among all their children. As for the clergy, they were deprived of the monopoly of registry by which they had formerly been able to refuse to heretics the authentic proofs of their birth and marriage, and the municipality took over the right of issuing these certificates without any regard to differences in religious belief. Ecclesiastical vows were pronounced legally null and void, and the Church ceased to be a corporation holding property collectively.

One of the most sweeping and, socially speaking, momentous reforms was the reconstruction of the whole fiscal system of France. The multiple vexatious taxes, such as *tailles*, tithes, excise, internal customs, were all swept away and replaced by three principal sources of revenue, that is, taxation of commerce and manufacture, the land tax, and income tax, or taxes on real and personal estate.

The revenue thus raised, however, was not sufficient to enable the Assembly to pay off the enormous debts contracted by the monarchy, and recourse consequently was had to what was known as "national treasure" (*biens nationaux*), or, in other words, the property of the clergy and of the emigrant nobles. The larger proportion of this was furnished by the Church, which owned vast lands, and these domains were placed "at the disposal of the nation" by a decree of the 2nd of December, 1789, on condition, however, that the State should henceforward provide for the expenses of religious rites, pay the clergy and exercise the functions of public charity. Temporarily, also, pensions were assigned to the dispossessed monks and friars.

Later, in 1792, when the tide of emigration increased, it was decided also to confiscate the property of all nobles who had not returned to France by a specified date. And as the difficulty of selling all these lands at once without depreciating them enormously was all but insurmountable, the Treasury emitted the famous "assignats," a forced paper currency which in the beginning represented a certain fixed amount of property in land.

The consequence of this step was, on the one hand, the creation of a class of small or moderately rich



MIRABEAU.

proprietors, and on the other the eventual depreciation, far below their nominal value, of the "assignats" as soon as the necessities of the war plunged the Revolutionary Government into financial straits.

Up to the point now reached, the Assembly, however radical its measures, had certainly not outstripped the desires of the nation; but in decreeing the extinction of the clergy and nobility as privileged orders, had, on the contrary, given expression to the will of the constituencies.

But it was otherwise with the promulgation on the 12th of July, 1790, of a Civil Constitution of the Clergy, a measure which transgressed the limits of the Assembly's power and provoked in many places a resistance followed by civil war.

Protestants, especially English Protestants, must have a difficulty in realising the horror inspired in Roman Catholics by the spectacle of a purely lay power interfering in questions of ecclesiastical discipline and hierarchy.

This was the sentiment which predominated, however, when the Assembly attempted to force the bishops and curates of the various dioceses and parishes to submit themselves to free election at the hands of laymen, and to undertake the discharge of their holy office only after swearing a solemn oath to obey the new rules. The Pope intervened and forbade the bishops to take the oath. The greater number obeyed the Papal order and were supported by the majority of the faithful, who deserted the official churches to attend the religious functions secretly celebrated by refractory priests.

Persecution from the Government and rebellion on the part of the people quickly resulted in the blunder of the Assembly—a blunder which was also the determining cause of Louis's great and final mistake.

As the tide of Revolution mounted, the King's difficulties increased. Public opinion and the decisions of the Assembly were alike influenced by the associations known as clubs which held periodical meetings in Paris. The originators of the Revolution, Sièyes, Lafayette, and others, composed the Eighty-nine Club, whose principles, however, were already outstripped by the Jacobins, consisting of such relatively moderate politicians as Lameth, Duport, and Barnave, who were soon to be reinforced and completely dominated by Robespierre ; while the Cordeliers, led by Danton, were more uncompromising still.

The tone of the Press, directed by Camille Desmoulins, Marat, and the like, grew daily more dictatorial.

Riots broke out in all the principal towns, and even in some regiments, while, as a crowning stroke of fate, Mirabeau—the only man endowed with sufficient perspicacity to understand that the Revolution was escaping from all control and that the King should be brought to accept measures which might avert the imminent peril — Mirabeau died prematurely on the 2nd of April, 1791. Then, no longer able to cope with the situation ; deprived of the help of Necker, who, feeling himself helpless, had resigned his office in September, 1790 ; conscious that each day further undermined the edifice of legitimate monarchy, and aggrieved as a conscientious Catholic by that Civil Constitution of the Clergy from which he had vainly endeavoured to withhold his consent —Louis took a fatal and irrevocable resolution.

He determined to flee—to join his brother D'Artois and the Prince of Condé, who were already in Germany, and to push on negotiations with the Powers—Austria, Prussia, Piedmont, and Spain—who had been invited to intervene in the affairs of France.

The negotiations had been secret, but the French nation suspected and justly resented their existence.

The flight of the King on the 20th of June, 1791, changed suspicion into certainty. Louis, recognised and arrested at Varennes, was brought back under a special escort to Paris, where the Assembly at first suspended him from his royal functions, but, in the hope of coming to some satisfactory agreement, reinstated him later. Already, however, the word "Republic" had been mentioned, and a demonstration in favour of such a change, in the Champ de Mars on the 17th of July, 1791, had to be suppressed by force.

The first French Constitution, promulgated on the 3rd of September of the same year, was branded with failure from the moment of its birth.

It offers, nevertheless, an interesting study as reflecting all the events which have been detailed, and as indicating the legislative changes witnessed by the present century.

The document opens by reciting once again the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the functions of the Citizen, and abolishes in its preamble every institution of the Ancient Régime which was in opposition to the principle of equality. Such were orders of nobility, feudalism, hereditary functions and offices acquired for money, trade guilds and corporations. These being swept away, the Constitution then applied itself to the constitution and definition of new rights, some of which have been already described.

The remainder were liberty of the press, the right of assembly unarmed, compulsory provision for deserted children and the infirm poor, work for all the able-bodied, and gratuitous public instruction in all indispensable branches.

It was a noble programme full of generous intentions, but many years had to elapse before its realisation, and to this day some portions of it are still in abeyance.

As an instrument of government, the Constitution of 1791 reflects the needs and predominating tendencies of its time, but, equally, the extreme political inexperience of its authors.

It decrees that there shall be only one legislative Assembly, to be elected by all citizens paying a tax at least equal to three labour days, such citizens choosing electors of the second class, who were empowered to choose deputies.

The Assembly was to be elected for two years, during which time there could be no dissolution. All laws were to emanate in the first instance from this body alone, which could also declare war on the proposal of the King. The sovereign's person was inviolable, but he would be considered to have abdicated his functions if he quitted his kingdom without permission or led an army against the nation.

He named his ministers who were allowed to sit in the Chamber, but no deputy could hold office under the Crown while his election to the Assembly lasted, nor for two years following.

As to the Chamber, it possessed merely a right of temporary veto, and any constitutional measure voted by two consecutive Assemblies at an interval of four years was bound to become law.

Finally, judges, being elective, were independent of the Executive and Legislative bodies.

The defects of such a system are patent at the first glance.

That the sovereign—his office having become an object of suspicion—should be shorn of authority was an integral part of the Constitution, and may be regarded as necessitated by the circumstances of the moment.

But the curious provision by which it was sought to save the Chamber from the demoralising influence of the Executive and ensure a greater independence in its deliberations, that, namely, which forbade the King to choose his councillors among the best members of the Assembly, sprang from a mistaken idea of the absolute necessity of separating the different powers of the Government. And however explicable, in the excited state of the general mind, such a prohibition might be, it could only lead to endless dissensions between the two bodies which were thus debarred from coming to a mutual understanding through the intermediary of their best representatives.

But the Assembly was so convinced that its work would last as to decree that no revision of the Constitution should be proposed before 1795 or effected before 1800. And yet just one year was to suffice for the destruction of the elaborate edifice!

The Assembly separated on the 30th of September, 1791, after embodying a final impulse of disinterestedness in the ordinance that none of its members should be eligible to the Legislative, by which decision it deprived the latter of the services of the few experienced men whom the first years of the Revolution had formed.

And the new Assembly having to deal with a weak ministry and a King whom the nation did not trust, immediately appointed permanent Commissions to discharge the various functions of government.

The Assembly was divided into three principal parties: namely the Feuillants (so called after a club wherein they held their meetings), who represented the old constitutional ideas and believed that the problems of the hour could be solved by imitating English institutions; the Montagnards, who formed what to-day would be called the Extreme Left, and were ready to establish their coveted Republic by violence if necessary; finally the Girondins, who counted Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné among their members and were for the time being in the ascendant, and who, although no Royalists, yet showed greater moderation and respect for legality than their rivals.

The Assembly began with two measures, the severity of which was rendered excusable by the growing sense of national peril.

The Nonjurant priests who would not subscribe to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy were deprived of their salaries, and the emigrants, who at Brussels and in the valley of the Rhine were stirring up a foreign invasion of France, were denounced as conspirators, whose property was to be seized for the benefit of the National Treasury.

And the King of Prussia and the Emperor Leopold, in the declaration of Pilnitz on the 27th of August, 1791, having proclaimed their intention of intervening to restore Louis XVI. to his former rights, the Assembly requested the King officially to warn these Powers to cease from their warlike preparations.

At this time there was no idea in France of starting on a career of European conquest. The only aspiration of the people was to have their liberty and independence respected, and if only their neighbours allowed them to manage their own affairs they did not contemplate disturbing the peace of any nation. But when the Imperial Chancellor Kaunitz replied to the representations of Louis XVI. by proclaiming "the legitimacy of the League of Sovereigns for the honour and safety of their crowns," the French prepared resolutely to defend their territory against invasion.

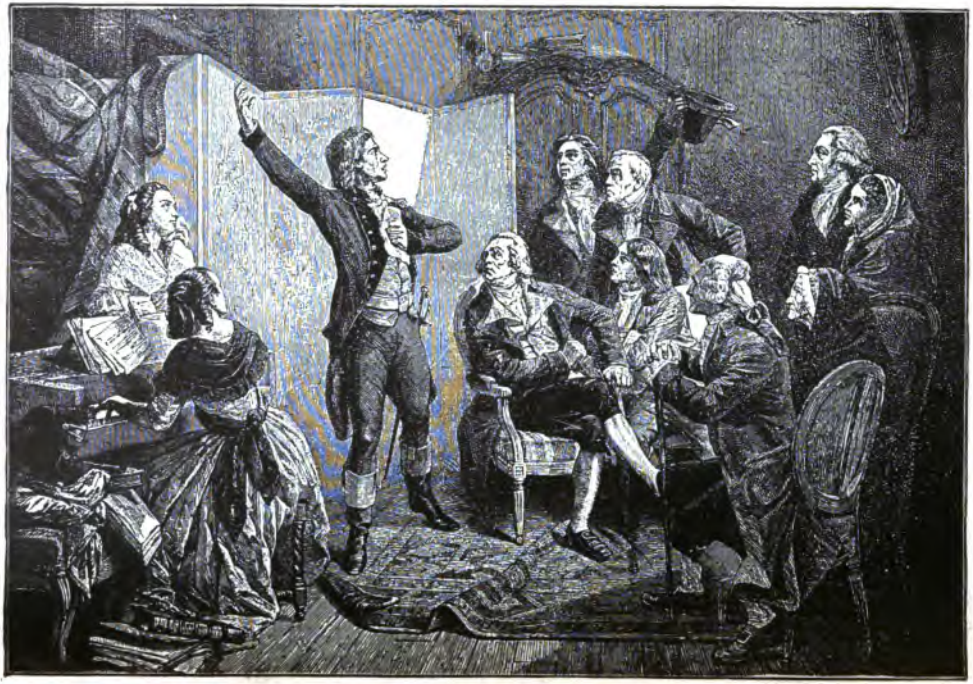
And from the day that war thus broke out in Europe, the Revolution inevitably changed its character, and, ceasing to be peaceable and humanitarian, became, as was natural, aggressive and bitterly warlike.

In all these events the course adopted by Louis XVI. was one of duplicity, for while officially acting in accordance with the orders of the Assembly, he secretly incited his brother monarchs to despatch armed forces against France.

In March, 1792, he accepted a Girondin Ministry composed of such men as Servan, Dumouriez, and Roland, and solemnly declared war on the 20th of April against Leopold, while at the same time secretly sending messengers to encourage the advance of the Austrian army. This treasonable behaviour was divined by, rather than known to, the people, whose suspicions changed into certainty at the first defeat inflicted upon French arms. The Girondin Cabinet resigned on the refusal of Louis to sanction the decree of expulsion against the Nonjurant ecclesiastics, and was succeeded perforce by a ministry chosen from the feeble faction of the Feuillants ; and popular passion, already excited, was further inflamed by the Manifesto, dated the 26th of July, in which the Duke of Brunswick, Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian Army, announced that he was commissioned to restore the French sovereign to the full enjoyment of his rights.

Once already, on the 20th of June, an angry crowd had invaded the Tuileries and threatened the King, and on the 10th of August a second outbreak drove Louis to seek safety in the Assembly, from whence he passed to spend his last sad days in the Temple prison, and finally to meet death on the scaffold.

The populace was now master of Paris and the Government. The municipal officers, elected by the people and commanded by Danton, continued to



ROUGET DE LISLE SINGING THE MARSEILLAISE.

flatter the mob until the day when men even more violent than themselves supplanted them.

On the arrival of the news that Longwy and Verdun were occupied, the populace stormed the prisons and murdered nearly a thousand aristocrats and priests, thus inaugurating the Terror which was later to become a system of official government.

The Legislative Assembly was fully alive to the perils which threatened the frontier, and before proceeding even to the deposition of the King, it issued a proclamation calling volunteers to arms for the defence of the country.

Then it decided to dissolve itself, and to take steps for the convocation of a National Convention which should be invested with the full authority required to save France from her enemies. For the moment all talk about the division or equilibrium of governing powers was at an end. Patriotism was in the ascendant, and thousands of soldiers rallied round the flag. Raw recruits, enrolled among the fragments of the old army, met the Prussians at Valmy on the 30th of September, and drove them back from the eastern frontier, while a further victory at Jemmapes on the 8th of November conferred possession on France of the Low Countries, now known as Belgium.

Before the pressing needs of the hour but one thought predominated, that of forming a government strong enough to cope with foreign and domestic foes. This led, not as yet to the Dictatorship of one man, but to the tyranny of the Assembly. Foreign interference therefore had the threefold effect of overthrowing the monarchy, rousing the lust of conquest, and annihilating liberty in France.

II.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(*September* 20, 1792—*October* 26, 1795.)

SOME years later than the events just detailed, Sièyes, as spokesman of the very men who during the Terror shone by their absence and were remarkable chiefly for cowardice, chose to describe the National Convention in withering terms. It was a body, he said, of men "audacious without genius, whose incomprehensible force, whose monstrous unexampled authority, was derived from their professions of liberty. Insensate and ferocious, they created obstacles while destroying the means of government, and when irritated by opposition they punished France for their own incapacity as rulers."

This severe indictment may be just in some respects, but whatever were the excesses and violence of the National Convention, it was, taken as a whole, a great assembly, not unworthy to be compared with the noble examples of antiquity. If guilty, as one must admit, of terrible and often needless cruelty in the slaughter of some thousands of "suspects" belonging to the aristocracy, the priesthood, and the military, it yet saved France from foreign invasion, and defended the principles of the Revolution against the attacks of every crowned head in Europe.

The Convention destroyed itself, indeed, by sending many of its own members to the scaffold; but on the other hand it furnished extraordinary examples of courage, as when, for instance, Danton, condemned in his turn to the doom which he formerly pronounced on others, refused to fly, for the reason, as he alleged, that "a citizen does not carry his country with him on the soles of his feet."

And if foreign and domestic feuds absorbed the chief energies of the Convention, it still found time, in its innumerable committees, to accomplish an enormous amount of legislative work, wherein idealist conceptions mingled with practical aims, and which, chaotic and unfinished though it might be, yet laid the foundation of a genuine progress.

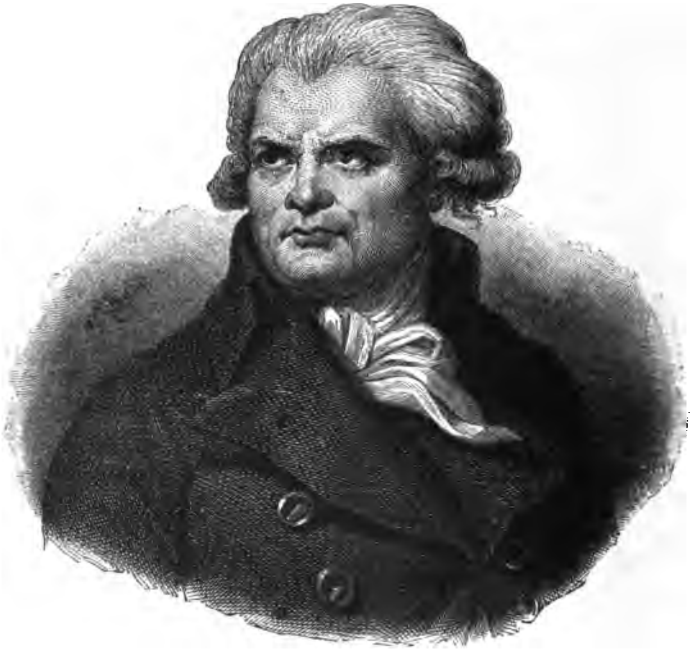
The Convention met on the 21st of September, 1792.

On the same day it decreed the abolition of royalty, but this was merely to kill the slain, for Louis was already a prisoner and of no further account in public eyes.

By this decree the Convention declared the will of the people to be the source of all constitutions, and the plebiscite necessarily sprang from the affirmation of this principle.

By this time the Girondin faction had lost all authority, and as external complications became more threatening, the Moderates, or so-called Party of the Plain, gave way before the increasing power of the ardent and audacious "Mountaineers."

Danton and Robespierre, destined a few months later to be at bitter enmity, united for the moment in demanding the trial of Louis XVI. On the 11th of December he was summoned to the bar of the Convention to answer to the charge of conspiracy against public liberty and national safety.



DANTON.

After a unanimous verdict of "guilty," he was condemned to death by 387 votes against 338 which were given in favour of a milder punishment. His execution, which took place on the 21st of January, 1793, not only ushered in the sanguinary Reign of Terror, but was an act of defiance towards the Coalition.

Already the crowned heads of Europe had been thrown into consternation by the undertaking of the National Convention to afford "help and sympathy to all nations struggling to recover their liberties" (Decree of the 19th of November, 1792); and now the execution of Louis seemed to threaten the life of every king, while the evident inclination of the Parisians to push their revolutionary propaganda beyond their own frontiers was not likely to reassure the timid or calm the perturbed.

On all sides preparations were made and negotiations begun towards repressing the dangerous movement.

Instead of waiting for the action of its enemies, the Convention preferred to anticipate it. So far, France had been at war only with Austria and Prussia, but in March and April hostilities were declared successively against England, Holland, and Spain. At the same time the whole Germanic Confederation made common cause with the enemies of the Republic.

Nor were foreign wars the only danger against which the Convention had to contend. For some months past the Western provinces, such as Lower Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, and La Vendée, had been in a state of agitation, caused by the outrage inflicted on the sentiment of Roman Catholicism, still so fervent in those provinces, by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and heightened by the exasperation of the loyalists at the execution of Louis XVI. It is from this period that dates the dreamy mysticism which we note as being the modern characteristic of Legitimist doctrines.

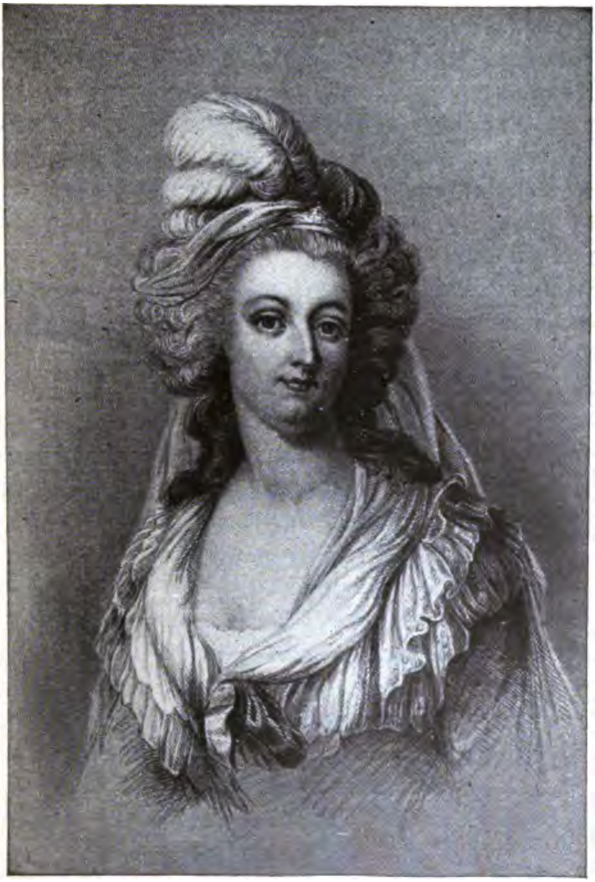
A terrible insurrection, headed by the nobles and the priests, broke out in the disaffected provinces where patriotism was still too feeble to allow of the populations acquiescing in the *levées en masse* which the Convention had ordered for the formation of its army.

No common energy was necessary to show a bold front to so many enemies, both foreign and domestic, and in this respect the Convention did not prove itself unequal to the task before it.

Neither the news that Tabago and Pondicherry had surrendered to the English, nor the graver defeat of Dumouriez at Neerwinden, followed by the treachery of this general who went over to the enemy, nor yet the invasion of the northern frontier availed to shake the courage of the governing body.

The measures necessary for forming and increasing the army were energetically pursued, and in a few weeks 120,000 men were enrolled and equipped, and while the Committee of General Security directed its attention to the discovery of "traitors" who, many of them innocent victims, were handed over to the revolutionary tribunals, the Committee of Public Salvation addressed itself entirely to the defence of the country against external foes.

A terrible famine meanwhile reigned throughout the land, and the Convention put the finishing touch to the state of siege which had been proclaimed for the whole of France, by draconian laws against monopoists, and the establishment of a maximum tariff beyond which it was forbidden to sell articles of food



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

This iron despotism was made excusable by the pressing peril of the hour, but its own abuses discredited it. Suspicion and alarm, calumny and denunciation were rampant.

Since the trial of Louis XVI. the Mountain had regarded the Girondins as lacking in zeal, and it presently launched the further accusation of "federalism" and consequently high treason when the same party sought to extenuate to some extent the resistance shown to the new ideas by Bordeaux and Lyons. The Girondins also committed the fatal imprudence of requiring the Convention to put Marat on his trial.

This sinister personage, a journalist and a deputy, was accustomed daily to clamour for the execution of such nobles or priests as were still on French soil; but when brought himself before the Revolutionary Tribunal he was acquitted. The mob escorted him in triumph to the Assembly, and this body, terror-stricken, on the 2nd of June voted a decree of arrest against thirty-one Girondin deputies.

For the moment the Mountain was master of the situation. Bad news poured in incessantly on all sides. Caen and Marseilles imitated the risings in Lyons and Bordeaux, while in the Cévennes and the western provinces the peasants were in revolt. Toulon had been surrendered to the British, Mayence had capitulated, Condé and Valenciennes were occupied by the Austrians (July to August, 1793).

Nevertheless, the Committee of Public Salvation worked with feverish energy, some members going in person to visit the various armies, while from Paris the great Carnot issued plans and orders for defence. Nor did the Committee of General Security slumber, but, armed with the terrible law against Suspects, it despatched emissaries to the provinces to superintend the imprisonments and executions which had been decreed. Before the close of the year the insurgents of the west had been driven back from the principal towns, Bordeaux and Lyons were pacified, Bonaparte had recaptured Toulon, and Jourdan had been appointed to the command of the Army of the North.

But the Queen, Marie Antoinette, all Girondin leaders, several generals suspected of treason or only of weakness, and many others too numerous to mention, had met their death on the scaffold.

The Mountain itself was breaking up into factions, and Robespierre, the predominant member of the Committee of Public Salvation, was accused by the partisans of Hébert of being too indulgent, and by the followers of Danton of being too despotic.

Robespierre defied both groups, and put Hébert and Danton to death within twêlve days of one another, the first being executed on the 24th of March, and the second on the 5th of April, 1794. The chief partisans of these two leaders followed them to the scaffold, and during the weeks following on these events the Terror reached its maximum of intensity.

Such a system of government could not fail to destroy itself. Robespierre was incorruptible and austere, but his mind dwelt chiefly on abstractions, his nature was inexorably cruel, and he believed that to himself every action was permissible. Confident in the double support of the Jacobin Club and the Commune of Paris, he felt sure that the population of the capital would long maintain him as master of the Convention.

But a day came at last when the Convention itself took alarm. The spectacle of so many falling heads filled the usually inert mass of deputies with doubts of their own safety.

When Robespierre on various public occasions proclaimed himself the high priest of the new Cult of the Supreme Being, his pretensions were met with ridicule; and when, intoxicated with the notion of his own omnipotence and incorruptibility, he committed the grave mistake of accusing Carnot and Cambon (absorbed as both were in defending their country and husbanding its finances) of treason, the public conscience rose in indignant revolt.

On the 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794) a majority at last accused Robespierre of aspiring to the dictatorship, and he was condemned to that death on the scaffold which so many persons—some criminal, some noble and innocent victims—had endured before him. France was at last delivered from a sanguinary yoke under which she had groaned for more than a year.

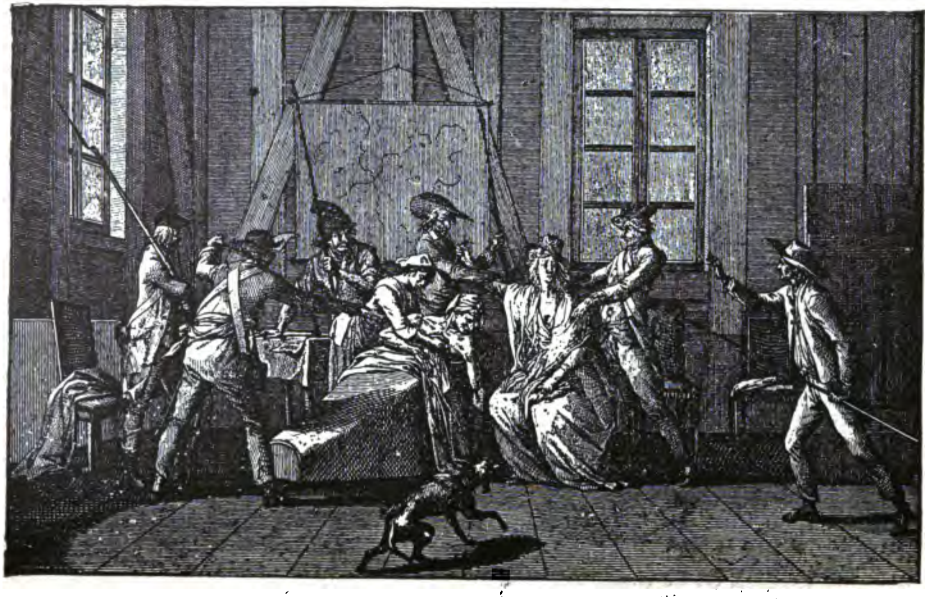
In the midst of the excesses which it had tolerated or undergone, the Convention had found leisure for the study, prosecuted indeed in the somewhat puerile fashion of the day, of great constitutional problems.

The troubled period we have just described saw the birth of two Constitutions, and if neither had any practical application, both are curious as historical monuments of political ideas.

The first of these theoretical systems was inspired by the Girondins before the leaders of that party had been brought to the scaffold. Two peculiarities betray the state of mind of the authors of the document. True to humanitarian principles, they abolished the punishment of death for all non-political offences, the stipulated exception being rendered necessary, as they conceived, by the conditions of the moment; and impressed with the hindrances to national defence which arose from party spirit, they naïvely put into the mouth of the illustrious Condorcet, who introduced the Bill, the axiom that "Constitutions founded on an equilibrium of powers presuppose the existence of two parties, while a cardinal principle of any Republic is to recognise none."

As a solution for all problems, they suggested the formation of a single Assembly, to be elected by all citizens over twenty-one years, without property or money qualifications of any sort, and the constitution by the same electorate of an Executive consisting of seven ministers and a secretary, one-half of whom were to retire every year. The framers of this measure were convinced that the frequency of elections would sufficiently restrain any attempt at despotism on the part of the Single Assembly, but as an additional security they introduced universal suffrage, which thus made its first appearance in France, and accorded to the electors the right not only of directly voting all constitutional laws, but also of forcing the Legislative, on occasion, to revise any ordinary law.

The realisation of these imposing conceptions of government was prevented by the execution of the Girondin deputies. But even before being involved in the destruction of its authors, the new Constitution



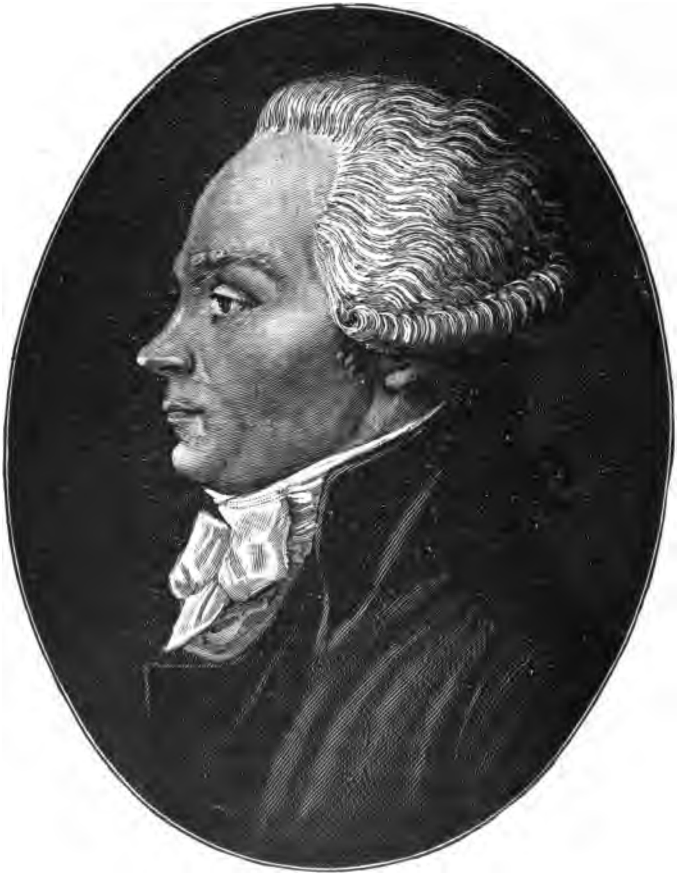
ASSASSINATION OF MARAT.

had been denounced by the Jacobins as anti-democratic, fatal to liberty, and imbued with federalism. It was anti-democratic in that it permitted the popular referendum for only a certain number of laws; it was fatal to liberty, because making the Executive too independent of the Assembly; it was tainted with federalism for the reason that deputies were to be elected according to their departments, instead of representing, as is proper, the whole of the national territory.

The Mountain had no sooner freed itself from its enemies than it proceeded to frame a Constitution on contrary lines to the above. In this second product of the spirit of the age, all laws without exception were to be submitted to the ratification of the multitude, or at least were to be taken as having received this, if within forty days of their promulgation no general ballot were demanded by a specified number of electors.

The Legislative was to choose the Executive from a list of candidates drawn up by the electorate, one for each department, and the Legislative Assembly itself was to be elected for one year only.

Not merely the right, but the duty of the nation to rise against an oppressive government was distinctly formulated; while, by a subtle paradox, Robespierre, who possessed to so finished a degree the art of despatching his adversaries to a better world, moved that deputies should have the privilege of not being punished for their opinions. These particulars suffice to give a correct idea of the practical and philosophical value of this new political instrument.



ROBESPIERRE.

Its defects, indeed, were so patent that the Jacobins had hardly promulgated it (in June, 1793) before its application was adjourned. Time, in fact, was wanting just then for experiments in constitutional machinery.

The paramount need of the moment was to defend the national territory, and to this end all power had to be concentrated in a few capable hands. A Committee of Public Salvation was formed, and did not prove inadequate to the task imposed upon it. France, indeed, had good reason to be proud of its achievements, and could draw from it some consolation for the excesses of the Terror.

The Allied Armies, commanded as they were by men whose interests were not identical, had failed perhaps to take full advantage of their first successes, and while they delayed their onward march the troops of the Republic had leisure to organise themselves.

Carnot from Paris directed the advance, and the soldiers, led by generals who only the day before had been simple privates or non-commissioned officers, found in the fervour of their patriotism the strength to support unexampled privations, and in a short time not only to re-conquer the positions which had been lost, but even to take the offensive. Jourdan's victory over the Austrians at Wattignies put an end to the blockade of Maubeuge (October 15, 1793); while the success of Hoche and Pichegru at Weissenburg on the following 27th of December drove the Allies back upon the right bank of the Rhine.

Almost at the same time the troops despatched to Vendée, under Westermann, Marceau, and Kléber, having suppressed the insurrection there, were free to reinforce the armies on the frontiers; and in the spring of 1794 a vigorous effort transported the field of battle outside French territory. The victory of Fleurus on the 28th of June restored a free entry into the Netherlands to the Republicans, while by the battle of Saorgio on the 28th of April and that of Boulou on the 1st of May, the Piedmontese were driven across the Alps and the Spaniards forced to return to their own peninsula.

By the end of 1794 Holland was occupied, North Germany threatened, and Spain had been invaded in two places simultaneously—Catalonia, namely, and Guipuzcoa.

We see, then, that if the Convention had overthrown Robespierre, it had at any rate preserved the men who could usefully defend their country, as well as the organisation from which the armies derived the material aids and the moral enthusiasm necessary for the accomplishment of their difficult task. Government in the interior had been facilitated, and the Convention had acquired a certain freedom from the control of the populace by taking over some of the powers belonging to its rival, the Commune of Paris, as well as by closing the Jacobin Club and disarming some sections of the National Guard.

But the Convention itself remained absolutely inexorable in regard to any generals guilty, or even suspected, of failing in the accomplishment of their high mission, and if the repressive measures resorted to were sometimes mistaken, the conviction which they generated that dismissal would follow on defeat was, at least, an admirable stimulus to energy.

The success of the French arms frightened various Powers into an attempt at treaty. Spain, knowing that peace could be purchased on easy terms, offered to cede to France the part of San Domingo which belonged to her; while Prussia, not at all desirous of being infected by the spirit of revolutionary propaganda, and having just acquired Warsaw in the partition of Poland, was disposed to hand over the left bank of the Rhine.

These terms were agreed to in the treaties of Bâle (5th of April and 28th of July, 1795), and France, delivered from two enemies, with a government recognised at last by two European courts, had further cause for exultation in the news that on the 21st of July, at Quiberon, Hoche had destroyed a band of *émigrés* whom England had endeavoured to disembark in the western provinces, with the object of reviving the dying flame of insurrection.

In spite, therefore, of defeats by sea and the loss of the islands held by the French in the West Indies and the Mediterranean, the National Convention had some reason to be proud of the work it had done on the Continent, when, on the 26th of October, 1795, the moment came for it to declare that its mission was finished.

The task of the Convention had not been limited to the preparation and direction of the war; for if in plenary assembly the subjects principally discussed had been proscriptions or military measures, the committees had accomplished an amount of legislative work which at this distance of time appears surprisingly great.

It is true that this activity did not yield many positive results at the moment, for if the Convention, in the midst of war's alarms and political excesses, did actually found the public educational system which still flourishes in France, and establish the principal scientific institutions,[1] on the other hand it had to limit itself in many instances to the accumulation of materials which were utilised by its successors. To the Convention is also due the preparatory work which resulted later in the celebrated codes of Napoleon, and bestowed legislative unity, for civil and criminal causes alike, upon the whole of France; while to the same source must be ascribed that great Book of the Public Debt which forms the foundation of French national credit.

The Convention, before dissolving, left, in the shape of a Constitution, a kind of political testament which proves at one and the same time how much ideas had changed in the space of six years, and yet how far men still were from understanding the functions of a normal government.

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[1] The Institute of France, the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, the Conservatory of Music, the Museum of Natural History, the Normal High School, &c., date from these troubled times. The same is to be said of the Lycées for Secondary Instruction and the School of Medicine. As regards Primary Instruction, its principles were formulated but could not be applied, and the real foundation of this branch took place only in 1833.

The Convention also fixed a standard of weights and measures founded on the metrical system, and invented a New Age Calendar, in which the first year began with the proclamation of the Republic on the 21st of September, 1892, and the months were re-named according to their respective seasons (Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire, Nivose, Pluviose, Ventose, Germinal, Floréal, Prairial, Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor). But this final innovation did not survive the political reaction which accompanied and followed the Second Empire.

The Constitution of the Year III., which laid down rules for the organisation of political power and the exercise of public functions in France from November 1795 to 1799, is a curious mixture of reaction against the political abuses of the preceding years and theoretical speculation of the sort which disdains the teaching of experience. The avowed intention of the chief framers of this document (Boissy d'Anglas, Thibaudeau, La Reveillère, Daunou, &c.) is to establish "a government by the best"—and to this end they reject all direct intervention of the people in the work of legislation, and seek, by means of a rating qualification for voters, to guarantee Elective Assemblies from any introduction of ignorant and unstable elements.

Experience has convinced them of the dangers of a Single Chamber, and they have insensibly returned to the idea of counterpoise and equilibrium. They consequently suggest the creation of a Council of Five Hundred which shall propose laws, and a Council of Ancients, of half the above number, whose function would consist in accepting or rejecting *en bloc*, without amendments in detail, the various measures elaborated by the first-named body.

The evil of debating under pressure from the mob, or allowing the latter to intervene directly in the business of administration, is guarded against triply by limiting the number of strangers to be admitted to the Chamber during discussion, by ordering that no troops shall be stationed nearer than a radius of six myriameters from the Chamber, and by denying to the Legislature the power of instituting permanent committees.

Great efforts are made to preserve full liberty of individual action, but the right of meeting is regarded with much suspicion, and very severe measures are taken against *émigrés*.

The weakest point of this Constitution, that from which conflict was bound to arise, lay in the obstinate and superstitious veneration which its authors felt for the principle of the separation of powers. They proclaim the absolute inability of members of the Legislature to perform any executive functions, and stipulate that the two powers shall remain almost totally independent of one another.

The two Legislative Councils are to be elected in the second degree by all citizens of the age of twenty-five who pay one direct tax. They are to be renewed every year to the extent of one-third of their number, and if an outgoing member has once been re-elected, he can only become a candidate again after a lapse of two years.

No man can be a member of the Five Hundred if under thirty years of age, and only married men or widowers of forty are eligible to the Council of Ancients.

The executive functions are vested in a Directory of Five Members, renewable one every five years, and of which an outgoing member can only be re-elected after a lapse of another five years.

These Directors are chosen by the Council of Ancients from a list of ten presented by the Five Hundred, and they also are only eligible at the age of forty. Once elected, they cease, so to speak, to have any contact with the Legislative body. They cannot dissolve it, nor be dismissed by it. They name the ministers, but are under no obligation to choose them from among persons who are agreeable to the majority. They are the supreme executive agents, yet may be refused the means of executing anything; and as the Directory is renewed infinitely more slowly than either of the Councils, and by the fact of its merely partial renewal cannot always be held to represent faithfully the actual state of public opinion, it will be seen that the result could only be a deadlock from which the one possible issue lay in force.

Before the Constitution of the Year III. had begun to work, a significant incident revealed the dangers which lay ahead, and made it evident that questionable means would have to be employed to avert them.

In spite of the relief caused by the fall of Robespierre on the 9th Thermidor, the memory of the Terror was so vivid, and the burdens of every sort consequent on the war were so heavy, that already a tide of reaction had set in.

The Royalists raised their heads once more. In Paris itself they were assured of help from some sections of the National Guard, and had succeeded in winning General Pichegru to their side.

They believed that in the next elections to the Councils they would have a majority, and that the merest trifle would then lead to a restoration of the Monarchy.

But the Convention was not disposed to submit its work—the whole patrimony of the revolution so to speak — and the fate of the holders of national property to the chances of the urns, and it consequently decided on a step more hazardous than constitutional.

That is to say, it ordered the electors to choose two-thirds of the members of the new Councils from among the outgoing deputies of the National Convention, and decreed that previously to the election of the remaining third, the Directory should be reconstituted. By this device the spirit which had inspired the Convention was given at least one year's new lease of existence in the Councils, and a majority of Jacobins assured to the Executive for three years.

The disappointed Royalists determined to delay their conspiracies no longer, and on the 13th Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795) they marched forty thousand strong upon the Convention. Young General Bonaparte, called to the aid of the State, succeeded without much difficulty in repressing the attempted insurrection. But one discouraging fact had emerged plainly from the events of the day. Not only was the reign of violence still in existence, but it was clear that the restoration of political calm would often have to depend upon force. It had also been proved that the complicated machinery of the new Constitution, with the additional hindrances introduced by the provisional measures of the Convention, must soon end in open conflict between the Directory and the Councils.

III.

THE DIRECTORY.

(*October* 27, 1795—*November* 10, 1799.)

SETTING aside the complications which were soon to arise in the internal policy of France,[1] the general situation was far from being brilliant when the new Government entered upon its functions.

The excessive emission of assignats for the needs of the Treasury had severely shaken public credit; the laws regarding monopolists (*accapareurs*) and the price of provisions had ruined commerce and industry; while the peace with Prussia and Spain having only partially restricted the theatre of war, the continuance of hostilities was soon to result in foreign enterprises undertaken to provide the French soldiers with the food and money which their own land could no longer afford them. The impulse to foreign conquest sprang, then, from economical considerations, while at the same time appearing as the only method by which the remaining members of the Coalition could be brought to terms.

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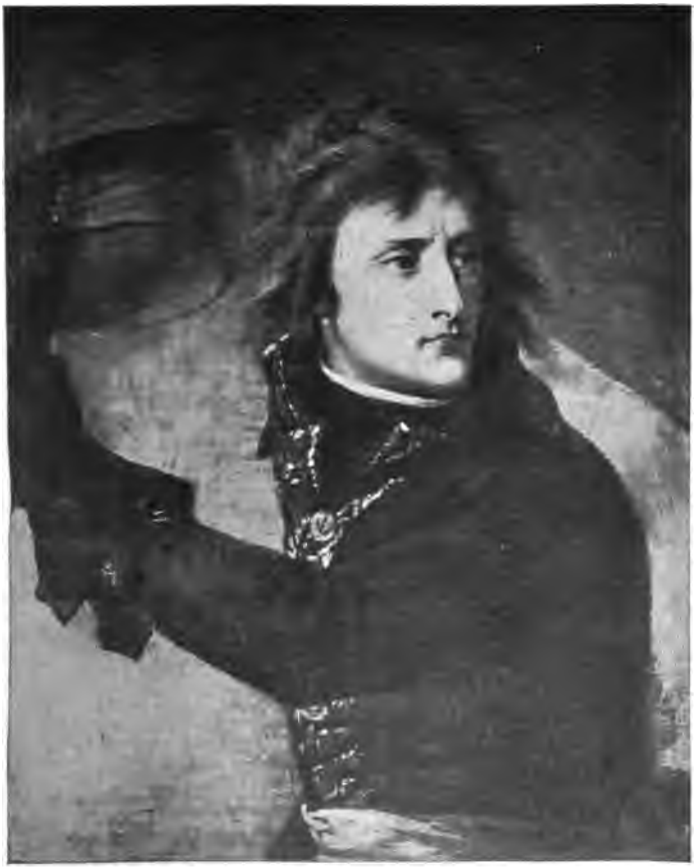
[1] It must be remembered that in virtue of the prevailing form of administration, the Directory had little control over the functionaries in the Departments, who were elected by their fellow-citizens.

Three generals, who had already become famous, commanded the principal armies: Moreau, on the Rhine; Jourdan, in the north; Hoche, in the west. One of the first acts of the Directory was to appoint a fourth general to command the army of the Alps, which had been deplorably inactive for some months past. Nobody seemed so fitted for the post as the hero of the 13th Vendémiaire, General Bonaparte, who had also distinguished himself as a captain of artillery at the siege of Toulon.

Carnot, who, in becoming a member of the Executive, had not ceased to be organiser-in-chief of the campaigns, had determined that the year 1796 should be employed in attacking Austria and by the invasion of Cisleithania, in destroying, if possible, the chief continental centre of the Coalition. To this end, Hoche was directed to remain on the coast of Brittany to repulse, if necessary, any attack on the side of the sea; while Jourdan, Moreau, and Bonaparte, were to march from three points on the hereditary states of the Emperor; the first by the valley of the Mein, the second by that of the Neckar, the third by Northern Italy.

In Germany the concerted movement was executed slowly and with but moderate success, Jourdan and Moreau, who commanded between them 120,000 men, being too far apart from one another to be able to crush the Austrians. They advanced a certain distance, however, and the victories of Radstadt, Ettlingen, and Neresheim (in July and August, 1796) caused uneasiness in the Court of Vienna. But the Archduke Charles, nothing daunted, began by defeat-



NAPOLEON AT ARCOLA.
(*From the painting by Gros.*)

ing Jourdan at Wurzburg (September 3) and driving him across the Lahn; after which, turning upon Moreau, he forced him to withdraw as far as Alsace.

In Italy, on the contrary, Bonaparte, electrifying his troops by the promise that in the Peninsula they should find the plenty of which they had so long been deprived, carried off one brilliant victory after another. At Montenotte on the 12th of April he cut off the enemy's line of march, on the 14th beat the Piedmontese at Millesimo, and defeated the Austrians at Dego on the 15th. Pursuing the Piedmontese along the road to Turin, he beat them once again on the 26th of April at Mondovi, and forced them on the 28th to sign the armistice of Cherasco. This truce soon became a treaty of peace which (signed on the 3rd of June) not only assured to France the possession of Nice and Savoy, but allowed her to occupy the fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Alessandria; and even while the negotiations for this peace were proceeding, Bonaparte marched against the Austrians under the command of Beaulieu and forced them to retire upon Milan, beating them afterwards at Piacenza, Lodi, and Borghetto (on the 9th, 10th, and 30th of May), and driving them into the Tyrol. He seized Verona and besieged Mantua, while all the time levying contributions of war which enabled him not only to provide for his soldiers, but also to send money to the Directory and to the generals commanding the French forces in Germany.

Austria, however, was roused. Beaulieu was replaced by Wurmser, who received reinforcements, but committed the mistake of dividing his army in order to send it along the two sides of the Lake of Garda into Italy. Bonaparte, abandoning Mantua, took up a position on the Mincio which enabled him to beat the two wings of the Austrians separately at Lonato and at Castiglione on the 3rd and 5th of August respectively, after which, advancing upon Roveredo and Trent, he took Wurmser in the rear in the valley of the Brenta, defeated him at Bassano and San Giorgio (on the 8th and 15th of September), and shut him up in Mantua, of which the siege recommenced.

A little later, in October, news came that the island of Corsica had been retaken from the British by a force which Bonaparte had despatched from Leghorn.

Yet a third army was brought by Austria into the field, under the command of Alvinzi; but Bonaparte, unsurpassably resourceful, and obeyed by men in whom he had inspired a superhuman enthusiasm, was equal to all the difficulties of the situation. At Arcola on the 15th of November, at Verona on the 13th of January, 1797, at Rivoli, at San Giorgio again, and at La Favorita (14th, 15th, and 16th of January), his success was such that the Austrians were again driven back; and Wurmser, still blockaded in Mantua, had finally, on the 2nd of January, to capitulate.

Bonaparte, having now a few days of leisure, took advantage of it to begin organising the provinces which he had occupied.

The Duke of Modena and the Pope having deserted him on the approach of Alvinzi, he dethroned the former and turned his state into a Republic, adding to it the Romagna and the Legations of Ferrara and Bologna, which the Pope had ceded in the peace of

Tolentino (10th of February). Following his peculiar instinct of repression and domination, Bonaparte next proceeded to found the Republics of Venice and Liguria.

The Archduke Charles, delivered from Jourdan and Moreau, was now advancing with a fourth Austrian army.

Bonaparte sent forward his lieutenants Joubert and Masséna, who respectively reached the Brenner (by the Tyrol) and the heights of Tarvis, while the conqueror himself marched upon Klagenfurt, forced the passage of Neumarkt, and, on the 7th of April, entered Léoben. At the same time the French forces in Germany resumed the offensive, Hoche, who had succeeded Joubert, crossing the Rhine and fighting five battles in four days. Three of these combats were victories (Neuwied, Ukerath, and Altenkirchen), and simultaneously Moreau had driven the Austrians back into the Black Mountains. But these triumphs, while reported at Vienna, were unknown to Bonaparte, and he was consequently induced prematurely to sign the preliminaries of peace at Léoben on the 18th of April, and thus arrested the advance of the victorious French.

Such were the prodigious feats which disabled Austria, and so far alarmed England as to induce her to begin those negotiations at Lille which unfortunately came to nothing.

Bonaparte's triumphs struck the popular imagination all the more that they coincided in time with an internal crisis which affected France morally and materially to a very painful degree.

In the beginning of its career the Directory had met with some success. Hoche had been able to suppress a new attempt of the Royalists, encouraged by England to rise, and the chiefs of the movement, Charette and Stofflet, had been shot (February—March, 1796); while in Paris Babœuf's abortive Communist agitation resulted also in the death of that leader (May, 1796). But, generally speaking, the Government and the police had little authority throughout France. Bands of brigands infested the south and west, and the Directory, with the feeble local powers conferred on it by the Convention, was ill able to cope with these disorders.

The prolonged war had completed the ruin of the Treasury and the destruction of commerce, in spite of the sums—some millions of francs—which Bonaparte sent periodically from Italy. Moreover, the country was beginning to weary of the enormous strain which had been imposed on it by circumstances. A gambling fever, a mania for speculation, and a general depravation of morals spread everywhere, the regions of government not excepted, and more than one exalted personage was already noted for the dissoluteness and venality of his character.

Such a state of things was favourable to the designs of the Royalists. The son of Louis XVI., whom his followers called Louis XVII., had died in 1795 in the prison of the Temple; and the late king's brother, the Count of Provence, later known as Louis XVIII., was endeavouring, in the country whither he had fled at the outbreak of the Revolution, to gather up the threads of a vast Royalist conspiracy.

Emigrants poured back into France, and their mere presence there was a menace to the *beati possidentes* of national property. A Royalist association, whose action extended all over France, had its headquarters in Paris, and was known under the name of Clichy.

When the Legislative Assembly was partially renewed in the Year V., a sufficient number of Royalists were elected to make General Pichegru President of the Council of Five Hundred, and to include another reactionary, Barthélemy, in the Executive. The colleagues of the latter, alarmed at the strength of the tide of reaction, summoned a veritable army to the capital under the command of General Augereau; the council chambers were surrounded, and the Jacobin minority annulled the recent elections. Fifty-three deputies, among whom were Pichegru, Boissy d'Anglas, Portalis, &c., were exiled, some to Cayenne and others to Oléron, while the same fate befell two members of the Directory, namely, Barthélemy, the proved accomplice of the Royalists, and Carnot, whose only crime had been to deprecate violent proceedings against the latter.

Such was the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor (September 4, 1797) directed by the Executive against the Legislative Assembly, or rather by the surviving members of the National Convention against the partisans of reaction.

Less than two years, then, after its foundation, the Constitution had been destroyed.

With Carnot departed the chief organiser and moving spirit of the patriotic campaigns. And an evil fate decreed that almost simultaneously a premature death should abruptly carry off General Hoche, who had the command on the Rhine, and was the only officer whose military renown approached that of Bonaparte and might, at a given moment, have controlled the Corsican's ambition.

It seemed, then, that at the very hour when the Directory had returned to revolutionary methods, France was deprived of the two men who had hitherto contributed to her exterior strength. The coincidence was the more unfortunate that the Directory, in order to justify its recent acts and to consolidate its authority, was inevitably led to foreign war as a means of diverting the public mind from internal affairs, and as a pretext for continuing the policy of the National Convention.

From this date, then, the war, which up to 1795 had been purely defensive, and in 1796 only so far offensive as was required for the purpose of resisting Austria, became an instrument of domination and conquest, and a means of replenishing the French treasury by the indemnities wrung from the countries which were invaded. And this character the war maintained until 1814.

True to its new principle, the Directory broke off the negotiations proceeding at Lille with England, and would have welcomed a similar termination to the conditions by which Bonaparte was endeavouring in Italy to transform the preliminaries of Léoben into a treaty of peace.

But Bonaparte, in whom the desire for supreme power was developing itself, felt that his renown among the masses would be all the greater if he could conclude a brilliant peace on the morrow of his stupendous victories. Moreover, peace with Austria would leave him free to carry on military operations against the only enemy of France which was still uncrushed—in other words, Great Britain.

Consequently, against the orders of the Directory, which opposed the cession of Venice to the Austrians, Bonaparte, on October 17, 1797, signed the treaty of Campo Formio.

By the terms of this peace, Austria gave Belgium to France, and admitted the latter's claim to the left bank of the Rhine and the Ionian Islands. Austria further recognised the existence of the Cisalpine Republic in return for Venice, Istria, Friuli, and Dalmatia.

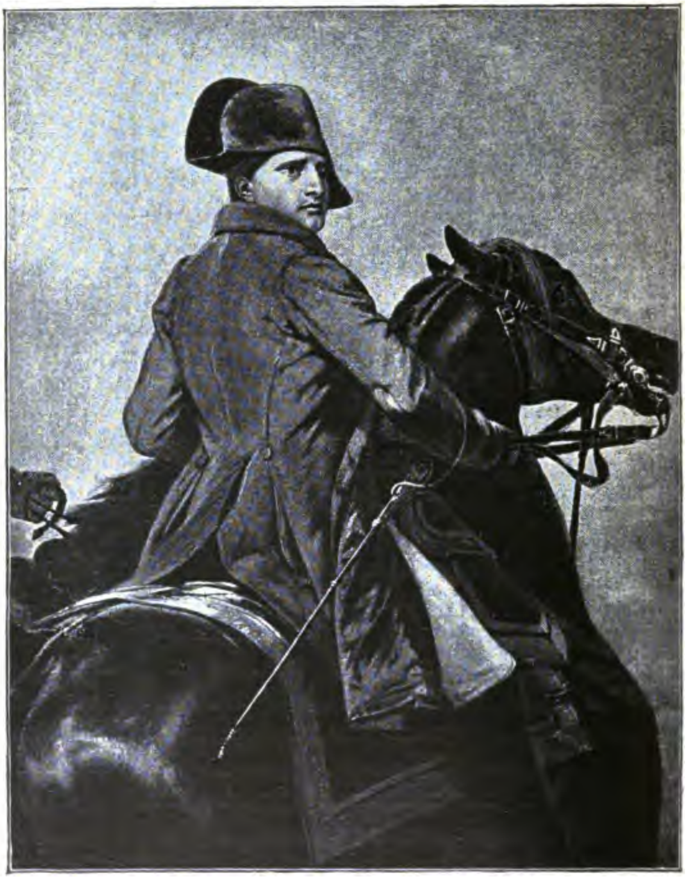
Bonaparte being thus at liberty, the Directory, whose most pressing need was to continue the war, began to think of employing him against England.

Preparations had already been made for a descent upon Great Britain, but Bonaparte soon convinced himself that these means were insufficient, and that the enterprise as planned was insensate. Nevertheless, the project which he conceived was more insensate still; for, at the risk of embroiling France with her time-honoured ally, Turkey, he determined to invade Egypt, and that, not with the idea, as one might think, of planting the tricolour in the valley of the Nile, but with the dream of going further still and striking at the British Lion in India. This plan was the first visible sign the conqueror had yet given of that wild and exuberant imagination which was ultimately to lead him, and France in his train, to Baylen, to Moscow, and to Waterloo.

The Directory allowed itself to be persuaded by its famous general, all the more that it felt that there might be some prudence in removing so extraordinary a man from France.

The army left Toulon on May 19, 1798, and success crowned the first attempts of the brilliant leader. Malta was taken, in passing, on the 11th of June, Alexandria occupied on the 2nd of July, Cairo on the 23rd; and while on the one hand Bonaparte drove away the Mamelukes, who had advanced to prevent his march, on the other he set up a government in harmony with local customs, and appointed men of learning to study the history and science of the country.

But Fortune soon ceased to smile on the great commander. On the 1st of August, the fleet which had brought him, and was commanded by Admiral Brueys, was surprised and destroyed at Aboukir by Nelson, and Bonaparte, cut off from his means of communication by sea, had perforce to seek an issue in *terra firma*. Towards the south he established outposts at the cataracts of Syène (Assouan), and simultaneously marching towards Syria, he reached Gaza and Jaffa, and defeated the Turks at Mount Thabor on April 16, 1799; but owing to the want of provisions and heavy artillery, he failed in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre on the 21st of May. Forced to re-conduct his exhausted and plague-stricken troops



NAPOLEON AT JENA.

(*From the Painting by Horace Vernet in the Gallery at Versailles.*)

into Egypt, he again beat the Ottomans, on the 25th of July, at Aboukir; but being now insufficiently provided with men and war material, and learning that things were going badly in Europe, he left the fragments of his force under the command of Kléber, and, embarking alone on a frigate, he reached the coast of France on the 8th of October, to find a serious state of affairs indeed.

The Directory, too weak for the critical position in which it found itself, alternated in its conduct between violence and pusillanimity. At one moment, to relieve the drain on the exhausted exchequer, it carried through an operation which, under the pompous title of "Consolidation of the Third," was really a declaration of bankruptcy, since it meant paying two-thirds of the public debt in depreciated paper notes, and keeping only the interest of the surplus for the *Grand Livre*.

At another moment it sought to paralyse the growing opposition among the public to its measures by summarily annulling the regular elections on the 22nd Floréal = May 11, 1798. One day the Government decreed a forced loan from the rich; a little later it established compulsory military service for all Frenchmen aged from twenty to twenty-five years. It displeased everybody at home and abroad. Its attacks on the temporal power of the Pope, the exactions of its representatives in Holland, at Genoa, and Milan, the quarrelsome and dissolute conduct of its members—all combined to render the other Powers uneasy and to alienate the French people, who, after having hailed the Revolution as an era of liberation, began to find their new masters more insupportable than the old.

Little by little the excesses of the Government disgusted public opinion in Europe, and brought those who had first sympathised with the new France to take sides with the Powers who were now thirsting to retrieve their own disasters.

In March, 1799, at the instigation of Pitt, a second coalition was formed against France. It was more formidable than its predecessor, as, in addition to the old members, it included Russia and Turkey; and it was also more dangerous, for the double reason that the allied armies could now count on public support in their own countries, and that the common foe was less enthusiastic and less energetic than in 1792.

The campaign began with some partial successes of the French in Naples, but the Directory soon succumbed before the five enemies whom it had now to face.

Jourdan had crossed the Rhine, only to fall back upon Alsace, after being defeated at Stockach by the Archduke Charles (March 25, 1799).

In Italy, Scherer, beaten at Magnano on the 5th of April, retired behind the Adda; and Moreau, who succeeded almost immediately to the command, had no better luck, being defeated in his turn at Cassano on the 28th of April, and forced to take refuge in Turin, and finally in Genoa.

Macdonald, isolated in the Neapolitan territory, made haste to the north, but lost the battle of La Trebbia against Souvaroff on the 18th–19th of June.

Joubert, replacing Moreau and Macdonald, was defeated and killed at Novi on the 15th of August; and not only was Italy quite lost to France, but France itself was threatened with a new invasion.

In two other places fate was kinder to the French arms, for Brune drove back a force of English and Russians who had endeavoured to land at Bergen, in Belgium (September 19, 1799); while Masséna succeeded in detaching the Muscovite from the Coalition, after inflicting on him a crushing defeat at Zurich on the 25th and 26th of September of the same year.

But although these successes staved off the imminent invasion, they could not rehabilitate the Directory in the eyes of the public. The Government was accused, not entirely without reason, of having destroyed, through its ineptitude, the magnificent advantages which France had obtained by the treaty of Campo Formio; and the Councils, revolting in their turn, forced three members of the Directory to send in their resignation (30th Prairial = June 18, 1799). The ruin of the Directory was now as complete as had been that of the Legislative on the 18th Fructidor and 22nd Floréal.

Not one of the powers instituted by the Constitution of the Year III. still existed: all that survived was a passionate desire to see order succeed to anarchy, and to save the social gains of the Revolution from the dangers of a monarchical restoration.

Bonaparte returned to Paris at the very moment when this state of things had reached its most critical point. He was hardly on the spot before the general voice entreated him to put an end to a situation so lamentable in itself, and so dangerous to national security. All parties united in this appeal: Sièyes, who, although recently elected a member of the Directory, could not forgive the authors of the Constitution for having neglected his advice as to the reorganisation of France; the Jacobins, who preferred the sword of revolution to a return of the ancient dynasty; the Moderates, who, fearing the effect of a Restoration upon the holders of national property and trembling lest the civil reforms should be reversed, were willing temporarily to sacrifice their liberal theories for the preservation of the principle of equality; the Royalists, who were simple enough to think that Bonaparte would be satisfied to play the part of Monk by immediately offering the crown to Louis XVIII.—all, in short, were of one mind. All urged Bonaparte to conspire against the Constitution; while he, although willing enough to further their views in this respect, took care to be bound to no faction.

When by the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire (November 9, 1799) he caused the Council of Five Hundred to be dissolved by his grenadiers, he could number among his accomplices several members of the Directory and the majority of the Council of Ancients, and was willing for the moment to assume only the title of Consul, and that conjointly with two others.

But, in reality, it was his own will, and his alone, which was now to be imposed on France, and the despotism thus inaugurated shone with extraordinary splendour for a while, only to leave the French nation at last enfeebled and despoiled.

THE CONSULATE.

(*November* 10, 1799—*May* 17, 1804.)

ON the 25th of July, 1795, during the discussion in the National Convention of the Constitution of the Year III., Sièyes, the most thorough-going metaphysician, among those who have studied constitutional questions, ever known to the world, proposed a counter-project, wherein may be found the germ of all the principles underlying the Napoleonic form of government. It is not easy to follow the celebrated philosopher through the labyrinth of his abstract speculations, but his ideas merit notice both because of the date to which they belong, and because of the colour which they were made to give later to the Dictatorship.

"Unity of power," said Sièyes, "leads to despotism: division, to anarchy. Some method of conciliating the two must be found. If the principle of equilibrium be adopted, there is perpetual war between the Executive and the Chamber of Representatives; but there remains another plan, that, to wit, of so organising unity of power that the Chamber may be the arbiter between the Government and the Opposition. Direct government by the people is an absurdity. A people desirous of obtaining more liberty should have itself represented in as many directions as possible, but must take care not to give a plurality of representative offices to one person. The national will may be expressed in four different departments of thoughts, for each of which it requires a separate organ or depository—namely, a Constitutional body, who will act as guardian of the fundamental charter; a reformatory Tribunate, charged to interpret popular opinion to the Legislature; an Executive, consisting of a Council of State, which will appoint ministers and draft projects of law; and, finally, a Legislative Assembly, which shall possess no initiative, but be simply there to pronounce a final judgment after having listened to the *per et contra* statements of the Executive and the Tribunate."

Such was the marvellous piece of reasoning which Sièyes submitted in 1795 to the National Convention. To the honour of that assembly, let it be said that the project was rejected almost unanimously; but Sièyes did not accept his defeat. He employed the whole time that the Directory lasted in perfecting his system, and when Bonaparte, suddenly hoisted into power by the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, looked about for a constitutional instrument, Sièyes offered his own

He had been much struck during the preceding years by the many fluctuations of opinion in France which the different electoral systems introduced since 1789 had revealed, and it was with the object of ensuring stability to the new institutions that this fertile inventor now made a fresh suggestion. "Confidence," he announced, "should come from below, authority from above." And to apply this maxim he propounded a scheme by which the electors, instead of voting for their representatives, should simply draw up a list of eligible persons, among whom the Government might then name the members of the different assemblies. And in order to ensure the permanence of the revolutionary spirit, Sièyes decreed that all persons who had discharged public functions since 1789 should be included in these lists, and that the lists themselves should not be revised for ten years. Evidently no better means could be imagined for guarding against abrupt changes of opinion, and assuring the exercise of power, in all its shapes, to those who had created the Revolution or had profited by it.

Members of the Tribunate and the Legislative Chamber, to whom Sièyes attributed the same functions as in his project of 1795, were to be appointed by a College of Conservators, composed of one hundred life members, all in possession of wealth, who were, in the first instance, to be chosen jointly by Sièyes and Bonaparte, and afterwards to be recruited by co-option.

This college—a mere oligarchy—had also another mission, which was to designate a "Grand Elector," exclusively empowered to appoint a consul for foreign affairs and another for home affairs, both of whom were to choose a council of state and corresponding ministers. National functionaries were to name the officials for the departments, and these, in their turn, had to appoint officials for the communes, all being alike chosen from the list of eligibles to which reference has already been made.

The whole of this curious mechanism was lacking in a stable foundation, being anti-democratic in the sense that the exercise of the rights of electors was reduced to a simple formality, while the monarchical principle was vitiated by the appointment of the Grand Elector, "the fatted pig" (*le porc à l'engrais*), as Bonaparte called him, who existed only for the creation of consuls, and might be deprived of his functions by the College of Conservators the moment his action displeased them. Such as the system was, it did not please Bonaparte, who found it too complicated and likely to interfere with his pretensions. He therefore borrowed from it only as much as suited him, and made short work of the clauses which might have interfered with his absolute power.

For the rest, Bonaparte had formulas of his own, only they were derived, not from abstract speculation, but from eminently practical considerations. For instance, in a letter which he wrote in 1797 to his future foreign minister, Talleyrand, he enounced the principle that a non-sovereign people may have need of guarantees against abuse of power, but that any such precaution is absurd when the people itself is the only source of power. Which meant simply that in Bonaparte's view all limitations of the authority of an hereditary ruler are legitimate, but that no bounds need be put to the power of a chief of the state whom the voice of the people has acclaimed. And as he intended himself to be that chief, he proceeded to reduce the Constitution to a question of pure form.

Neither desiring for himself, nor being willing to confer on another, the pompous, but inefficient, functions of a Grand Elector. he simply suppressed that office.

He allotted to himself the title of First Consul for ten years, and, while accepting Cambacérès and Lebrun as colleagues, took care not to give them any but a consultative voice in affairs. He appointed Sièyes President of the College of Conservators, of which the name was changed to Senate, and took measures for admitting to that assembly only men devoted to himself, while at the same time decreeing that it should be recruited exclusively from a triple list of candidates to be drawn up respectively by the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Government. He kept the Tribunate, but denied it the right of initiating any law, and limited its office to the expression of pious hopes. He also kept the Legislative Chamber, but deprived it of the power of discussion, and left it only the right of silently voting laws after hearing them explained by delegates from the Council of State and the Tribunate. Then, as the system of lists of eligibles, ingenious as it was, still restricted his power overmuch, he determined that the first appointments of deputies and functionaries should be made independently of any lists, and that these should only be drawn up by the electors one year after the establishment of the new government, and should be revised only once in three years.

Naturally there was no longer any question of constituting permanent assemblies: the sessions were to be simply for four months of each year. No time was wasted, either, in enumerating the rights of citizens. Inviolability of domicile, individual liberty, and the right of petition were, indeed, briefly mentioned, but accompanying them was the ominous declaration that in periods of revolt or trouble even this simulacrum of a Constitution might be suspended.

The Constitution of the Year VIII., thus submitted to popular ratification, had, nevertheless, a high-sounding style. " It is founded," said its preamble, " on the real principles of representative government and the sacred rights of property, equality, and liberty. . . . Citizens, the Revolution, bound to the principles from which it started, is now finished."

The Revolution was indeed finished for the time being, but hardly through the consolidation of the principles of 1789. No doubt property, under its new form, and equality, resulting from the destruction of privileged orders, subsisted intact. It was, indeed, the mission of Bonaparte to preserve them against attempts at reaction. But liberty was an empty word. The very opposite of the ideas from which the Revolution had sprung was now prevailing. Less than ten years previously popular election had been the starting point of everything, even of the magistracy and local administration. Now election had been replaced by the choice of the executive, even in the constitution of controlling assemblies. The only idea was to leave a free hand to an imperious Dictator. "The Senate, the Legislative Chamber, the Tribunate," wrote Thibaudeau, "were for Bonaparte only instruments to which he was to give the tone, printing-presses intended to reproduce exactly the thoughts which he communicated to them, so that they might receive the stamp of legality and be put into circulation."

From the very beginning the Senate showed itself servile, sanctioning decrees of exile in its administrative capacity, and in its *Senatus-Consultes* allowing all kinds of restrictions to be introduced into the Constitution. The Tribunate showed signs of independence, only to find itself destroyed, and the Legislative Chamber, dumb though it was, had yet to submit to arbitrary decrees which were intended to enslave it still further. Gradually the habit arose even of dispensing with the Chamber for certain laws which were elaborated, under the form of regulations, by the Council of State. This body was especially favoured by Bonaparte, and in its presence he one day re-stated, in yet clearer terms, the aphorism which he had emitted in 1797: "The present Government is representative of the sovereign people: there can be no opposition to the sovereign."

Of such an evolution as we have described, the last stage could only be the suppression of all the forms instituted by the Constitution itself, and was the point at which Bonaparte eventually arrived.

A new administrative organisation was the necessary corollary of the new political constitution. The Revolution, in replacing the old provincial limits by departments, had deprived the central Government of almost all authority, and handed over local administration to functionaries elected by the populations of the district. Bonaparte changed all this, and, by the law of the 28th Pluviose, Year VIII., he took care to have himself represented in the smallest division by an official of his own choice. In the department he placed a Prefect, in the *arrondissement* a Sub-Prefect, in the commune a Mayor, all assisted by Councils—a Council for the Prefecture (*Conseil-Général*), a Council for the *arrondissement*, a Municipal Council for the Mayor; every one of which bodies, like the so-called political assemblies, were composed of Government nominees, who had no power to decide anything, but could only express hopes of which the central authority took what notice it chose.

The *arrondissement* became the centre of local administration and justice, having a Civil Tribunal, a Receiver of Revenue, and Assistant-Commissioners for most of the Government services. The chief towns had Commissioners, and a Court for Criminal Cases, attached, in each instance, to one of the twenty-seven Courts of Appeal into which the country was divided, and from which the final decision rested with the Court of Cassation in Paris. In short, the centralisation obtained under Louis XIV. had been revived and even increased, the network of Government agents being closer, and local autonomy more repressed than in the eighteenth century. It is a curious thing that political changes have often taken place since the days of which we treat, and new ideas opposed to the government traditions of that time have prevailed, yet but little alteration has been introduced into the administrative machinery of the Year VIII.[1]

Armed with such a powerful weapon of reform, Bonaparte was soon able to restore public order, and, with security, prosperity also began to revive. The finances were reorganised and the Bank of France established, thus restoring some elasticity to the treasury in spite of the continuation of foreign war. Public works were resumed, agriculture was stimulated by the recent redistribution of property in land, industrial enterprise expanded with the demand for the necessaries of life, which, by reason of the war, could not be imported, and commerce was born again, so that at last the astonished country became aware of a general comfort to which it had long been a stranger.

The Council of State, meanwhile, was actively preparing the Codes which were to confer on France a long-desired unity of legislation. The First Consul was taking measures to create a new nobility by the foundation of the Order of the Legion of Honour, which was to recompense eminent services both in military and civil life ; and he also sought to instil his own ideals into future generations by founding the University of France, which, organised on a basis at once military and monastic, became the central authority for all educational establishments, even private ones being forced to send up their pupils for the official examinations. Bonaparte's inexhaustible energy busied itself with everything in turn; the future was to him a matter of as great moment as the present, and if his domineering temperament asserted itself in each one of his achievements, it is at least impossible to deny that he left an ineffaceable stamp upon the country whose destinies he now controlled according as his sovereign caprice suggested.

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[1] For further details on this subject and French legislation generally, see my work written in collaboration with Mr. Paul Péter, " France As It Is," published in 1888 by Cassell & Co.

In some of his processes of national reconstruction the conqueror showed a very liberal mind. He repressed indeed, with rigour, an attempt at insurrection of the Royalists of Vendée (January, 1800), and while suppressing a great number of newspapers, established a strict censorship for the rest; but on the other hand his first care had been to recall all who had been proscribed under the Directory, to restore their liberty to the Nonjurant priests who still languished in prison, and finally, closing the lists of emigrants, to declare all nobles of the old *régime* admissible to public functions, while at the same time confirming the holders of national property in the possession of their estates.

"There are no longer either Jacobins, or Moderates, or Royalists: there are only Frenchmen," he had proclaimed on his accession to power, and this message of peace, succeeding to the periodical proscriptions of preceding years, had caused a general feeling of relief.

Bonaparte crowned his work of pacification by a master-stroke. Under the Constitution of the Year III., complete religious liberty had succeeded to the persecutions against the Roman Catholic Church which had followed on the Civil Constitution of the

Clergy. The Republic no longer paid a salary to any priest, or provided any place of meeting for religious worship (Law of the 3rd Ventose, Year III. - January 21, 1795). But this liberty was more theoretical than real, for the faithful could not fall, from one day to another, into the habit of providing for the expenses of their own church services; the priests, often objects of political suspicion, were hampered in the discharge of their duties; and it followed that in many communes religious rites were altogether in abeyance. Bonaparte determined to revive them everywhere. By the Concordat of the 15th of July, 1801, concluded with Pope Pius VII., the French Government undertook to pay salaries to all priests and bishops, and by this measure won the gratitude of the Catholic population.[1]

In the universal joy at this restoration of religious peace, certain tendencies of the Concordat, and certain conditions accompanying its promulgation, escaped notice.

The Government, for instance, reserved to itself the right of appointing archbishops and bishops, subject only to the canonical law of the Pope, and decreed a whole series of rules by which the clergy, like the University, were reduced to being an instrument of domination in the hands of the despot.

All these reforms were not carried through without offending some prejudices, and rousing some resistance even among the docile and impotent bodies created by the Constitution of the Year VIII.; but Bonaparte overcame these obstacles with the utmost facility. He began, in 1802, by deciding that the first partial renewals of the Legislative and the Tribunate, instead of being performed by lot, should be accomplished by simply naming the outgoing members—a highly practical measure, by which he easily got rid of his adversaries, Daunou, Benjamin Constant, Chénier, and the rest. But even this did not satisfy him. In the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 16th Thermidor, Year X. (August 2, 1802), Bonaparte had himself proclaimed Consul for life, with the right of naming his successor; he reduced the number of members of the Tribunate; decreed that the dates for the sessions of the Legislative Assembly should cease to be fixed, and that diplomatic treaties should no longer be submitted to it for ratification. He also withdrew from the two bodies above named the right of presenting candidates for the Senate, and conferred it upon himself; and he remodelled the lists of eligibles in such a manner as to give the Government a decisive influence upon their composition. The *Senatus-Consulte* in which these measures passed was not submitted to public ratification. The new doctrine was formulated in the Report to the Senate in the following terms: "General prosperity is the expression of the wishes of the citizens with regard to the laws which they shall obey. By the guarantee of the rights of the nation the application of the dogma of the people's sovereignty is referred to the Senate, which is the bond of the nation. This is the only social doctrine with which we need concern ourselves."

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[1] A similar undertaking was entered into with regard to Protestants and Jews. So that in France the ministers of three religions are paid by the State.

On only one point was it deemed necessary to have recourse to the plebiscite. Bonaparte was acclaimed Consul for life by three millions and a half of votes out of four millions and a half of electors.

How was it possible to refuse to such a ruler anything that he wanted, even though it were the abdication from its functions of a whole nation and the cessation of all political life? While restoring public order, was he not also recalling victory to the French flag? On coming to power he had made offers of peace to Germany and to England, but these two powers (and particularly the last named), who believed France to be exhausted, haughtily refused. A new military enterprise had therefore become necessary, and it was crowned with success.

Moreau was commanding the French forces in Germany, Masséna in Italy. The latter, with a handful of worn-out soldiers, shut himself up in Genoa, and succeeded during two months in keeping at bay 120,000 Austrians under Mélas. Moreau, marching upon Schaffhausen, defeated Kray at Stockach, at Engen, and at Moeskirch (May 3–5, 1800), driving him behind the fortifications of Ulm.

Bonaparte, at the head of an improvised army, crossed the St. Bernard on the 15th of May, in the teeth of numberless difficulties, and cut off the communications of Mélas with Austria. Surprised by this bold manœuvre, Mélas tried to break through the French lines; but he was repulsed by Bonaparte's advanced guard at Montebello on the 9th of June, then beaten at Piacenza, and finally defeated with crushing effect at Marengo on the 14th of June, after having twice held victory within his grasp, and being forced to yield at last only when Desaix arrived unexpectedly on the field of battle.

Moreau on his side was not idle, having carried off a victory at Hochstadt and advanced as far as Munich.

Bonaparte, in order to complete his enterprise and hasten the conclusion of peace, determined, against the custom of the time, upon a winter campaign. In Italy, Brune marched towards the Adige, while Macdonald turned the flank of the Austrians in the Tyrol, and Murat took possession of the Pontifical States. In Germany, Moreau, abundantly furnished with men and provisions, inflicted on the Austrians the bloody defeat of Hohenlinden (December 3), and was thus enabled to establish himself at Lintz and Steyer—that is to say, almost at the gates of Vienna; and then Austria determined upon signing a peace. The Treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801) restored things almost to the same point where they had been placed by the Peace of Campo Formio—that is to say, the whole of Italy fell under the domination, if not into the possession, of France, with the additional proviso that Tuscany was erected into the Kingdom of Etruria under the rule of the Spanish Prince of Parma, and that French garrisons were installed in Otranto, Taranto, and Brindisi.

England alone, supported by Portugal, was still in arms.

Bonaparte's renown was now so firmly established in Europe that kings began to solicit his alliance; and already Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark had concluded the League of Neutrals (December 16, 1800) by which to protect their commerce against the competition of Great Britain. But the British fleet was so superior to the others, that the battle of Copenhagen, fought on the 2nd of April, 1801, by Nelson against the Danes, sufficed at once to dissolve the league and cool the zeal of the Northern Powers.

The death of the Tsar Paul I., and the succession to the throne of the mystically-minded Alexander, once again left France to stand alone against Great Britain.

France was not in a condition to wage a maritime war. Her strength was already too fully absorbed on the Continent to allow even of her relieving Malta, which the English had blockaded. In Egypt, Kléber, left to his own devices, had signed with Admiral Sydney Smith the Convention of El-Arish, by which English ships undertook to convey French troops to their own country. But William Pitt refused to ratify the Convention, and Kléber, driven to desperation, had succeeded once again in defeating the Turks at Heliopolis (March 20, 1800), and retaking Cairo. But he was assassinated on the 14th of June, and the command fell to a mediocre officer, General Menou, who, after being beaten at Aboukir (March 21, 1801), and at Canopus on the 9th of April, had finally to capitulate, and evacuate Egypt.

In spite, however, of these successes, Great Britain thought the time had come to treat with France.

Bonaparte was beginning to study the reconstitution of the French navy. He had also begun to assemble in the camp at Boulogne an expeditionary corps for the invasion of England, and the naval battle of Algésiras had shown that, even in the matter of fleets, the French renascence was not to be despised.

By the Peace of Amiens, signed on the 27th of March, 1802, Great Britain not only confirmed the French in the possession of all their territorial acquisitions on the Continent, but also recognised the existence of the various republics which, extending from the Low Countries *viâ* Switzerland into Italy, formed, so to speak, a band of French dependents. England restored the colonies which she had seized from France, gave up Malta and the Cape to their former possessors, and of all her conquests kept only Trinidad and Ceylon.

Two years, then, of effort had restored a state of things which, on Bonaparte's return from Egypt, seemed nearly lost; and in addition to this advantage, the general peace which not France only, but the whole of Europe had so long desired in vain, was at last re-established. Is it to be wondered at that the French people should have repaid such benefits by throwing themselves at the feet of their liberator? The Consulate for life bestowed upon Bonaparte seemed merely the natural recompense for such a record of pacification, of reviving calm and internal reforms. More perspicacity than is given to the multitude would have been necessary to discern, in this hour of glory and prosperity, the fundamental vices of the new system, and the indestructible germs of corruption which it concealed.

But as a point of fact, the equilibrium introduced by the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was bound to be of short duration. The chief causes contributing to this result were the violent character of the First Consul himself and the conditions underlying the superstructure of French power abroad, to which may be added the inherent weakness of the French Government, or rather the utter impossibility which it would have been for anybody but Bonaparte himself, in the zenith of his strength, to keep going such an enormous administrative machine.

The Italian Republics were too feeble to stand alone; Switzerland was too disunited; Germany, unaided, was incapable of accomplishing the necessary transformations in her condition; while Bonaparte himself was too imperious and too suspicious to allow of anything around France to be done without his despotic intervention.

He annexed Piedmont and the island of Elba, and turned them into French departments (September 11, 1802); he consented to select the Doge of Genoa; he became the President of the Cisalpine Republic (January, 1803); and in the following February allowed himself to be made Mediator of the Helvetic Confederation, and the moving spirit of a Constitution too centralised in its nature for the requirements of such a state. In Germany he intervened to expedite the secularisation of the ecclesiastical principalities, by which measure he intended to indemnify the Prince

Bishops for the territorial losses which France had inflicted on them in the valley of the Rhine. In short, peace had hardly been proclaimed before it became evident that, under various names and forms, France, and France only, was the governing power in these countries outside her legal sway. Such a policy was well calculated to alarm the neighbouring nations, and when by the measures, unsuccessful though they were, by which he sought to repress the Negro insurrection in San Domingo, Bonaparte seemed to betray a serious intention of reconstituting a French Colonial Empire, Great Britain once more took alarm.

And her alarm was so great that, in despite of the Treaty of Amiens, she refused to evacuate Malta, and seized all merchant vessels sailing under the French or Dutch flag (May 13, 1803). Bonaparte retaliated by invading Hanover, the hereditary kingdom of George III., and by closing the French ports to English merchandise. If war were not yet openly declared, it was not far off. Bonaparte resumed his preparations at Boulogne, while England sought allies on the Continent.

An enormous blunder, not to say a crime, committed by Bonaparte meanwhile furnished the pretext for a fresh coalition against France.

The police had discovered a plot to assassinate the First Consul in which George Cadoudal, Pichegru, Moreau and other royalists were implicated. Pichegru committed suicide, Moreau took refuge in the United States, while the others were tried and executed. But these measures of repression did not satisfy Bonaparte, who, finding that the conspiracy had originated with the Royalist party, sent some soldiers into the Grand Duchy of Baden, there to arrest the heir of the Condé family, the Duke d'Enghien. The Prince was summarily tried and shot at Vincennes on the 21st of March, 1804—a violation of neutrality which caused Prussia to range herself on the side of the enemies of France.

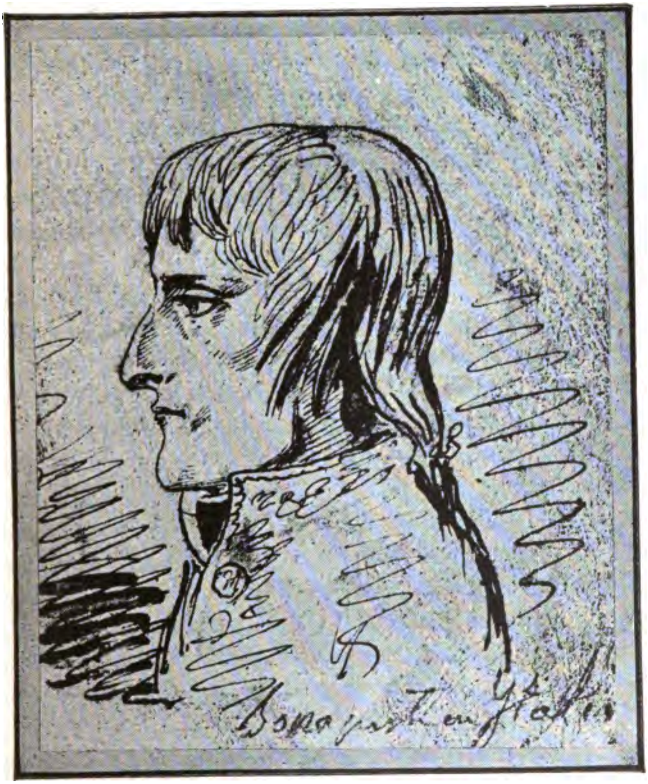
At the same moment Bonaparte had himself proclaimed Emperor as a protection against the dangers which threatened his life. The Empire and a new war, such were the immediate consequences of Cadoudal's attempt; but both had been inherent in the conditions of the moment and the character of the man who dominated France, and the events we have now to detail found their only possible termination on the field of Waterloo.

V.

THE FIRST EMPIRE.

(*May* 18, 1804—*April* 6, 1814.)

THE same majority which had acclaimed Bonaparte Consul for life, conferred an hereditary empire on Napoleon I. This was the answer given by France and her chief to those conspirators who believed that poison or the dagger would be sufficient to reseat the French legitimate sovereign on his throne. It was also a final reaffirmation of revolutionary principles in face of the new monarchical coalition of Europe against France. The first public documents, like the first coins of the new era, bore the contradictory inscription, "The French Republic, Napoleon I., Emperor." But the contradiction was more apparent than real, for the inscription expressed the complex sentiment of the nation, which seemed to feel that in choosing a General of the Republic for a Dictator it had set a seal, so to speak, to the Republic itself; while as to the Constitution, that known by the name of the Year VIII. needed but little alteration to become an Imperial form of government.


Bonaparte en Italie

NAPOLEON.
(From a pen-and-ink sketch by Gros.)

The change was accomplished by the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 28th Floréal, Year XII. (May 18, 1804), which was characterised chiefly by a new attempt to break down all eventual opposition. It was decreed that the number of Senators should henceforth be unlimited, and that the Emperor himself should appoint them. He was also to name the presidents of the Legislative Chamber and the Tribunate, both of which were to have a longer term of existence than hitherto, while the salaries of their members were increased. But the Tribunate, in losing all publicity for its meetings, parted with its last shred of independence. The Senate remained guardian of the Constitution, but could only annul acts which would be contrary to the prerogatives of the Emperor, or those which might tend to a restitution of feudal rights, or to any interference with the titles of the holders of national property; and even in these respects the Emperor had the privilege of revocation.

Thus it will be seen that if the social conquests of the Revolution were preserved, of liberty there was no hint. "Home and Foreign Policy does not concern the Legislative Chamber," declared Napoleon I., and the statement is in direct contradiction to the political ideas of 1789, which referred everything to elective Assemblies.

In 1789 the Executive was nothing; in 1804 it is everything. The pains which fifteen years previously had been taken to determine the rights of the citizen in the Constitution, were now devoted to defining the situation and fixing the allowances of the members of the Imperial family, as well as of the great dignitaries and marshals whose presence was to reflect lustre on the throne, until a new nobility was created by the decree of 1808.

Of course, some measures remained to be taken later to complete the edifice thus built up; but their nature had already been so indicated by the circumstances of the case, they sprang so naturally from the very foundation of Imperialism, as to pass almost unobserved at the moment of realisation.

The Tribunate, for example, was suppressed as useless in 1807, and its office undertaken by commissions of the Legislative Chamber, whose members from 1808 were named by the Emperor.

Again, in the same year 1807 it was decreed that judges should only be irremovable after five years of probation, during which they would be able to prove their docility. Little by little the habit was introduced of performing every public act by command of the Head of the State, without any respect even for constitutional forms. In 1807, and later, a simple decree prorogued the powers of the outgoing members of the Legislative; at other periods the Chamber was not even convoked, and taxes were voted without its assent. In the same manner fresh taxes were imposed, or the military contingent to be raised by conscription was increased, and even individual liberty ceased to be respected, for, still in 1807, the same arbitrary form of decree instituted State Prisons—a sort of improved Bastille—wherein any citizen could be indefinitely detained on a mere order of the Executive.

In short, nothing was left standing, in a political sense, in France except Napoleon himself. All control, all moderation, all thought of equilibrium of powers had gone by the board: every institution paled and withered in the presence of the Emperor. Here and there, indeed, a person was to be found who foresaw the ultimate consequences of such a a system. "The organisation of the powers of the State," wrote Rœderer in the Year XII., "cannot work effectually as it is at present. It will serve the ends of a despotic ruler, but must overthrow a feeble one. . . . A Senate, which has long bent to an arbitrary will, may one day well believe itself entitled to a will of its own, for a body which has allowed everything to another will end by thinking everything is allowed to itself. After having been employed by a Prince to destroy constitutional power, it may conceive that it is entitled to destroy the Prince in person."

Ten years later, this prophecy was verified word for word. After the disasters of 1813, Napoleon, in the hour of defeat, sought to galvanise the powers which his own action had paralysed. "You," he said, in accents of emotion, to the Legislative, "You are the natural exponents of the will of this throne. You must give the example of energy." But he had sapped all energy, and in 1814 his obedient and servile Senators were the first to abandon his cause.

This extremity had, however, yet to be reached, and in the meanwhile a new period of military glory was to open before Napoleon; and if in the long run France could but lose in the herculean struggle not only her political liberty but the best blood of her sons and the chief territorial acquisitions of the Revolution, it may at least be said that her victorious armies spread throughout Europe the ideas which had determined the events of '89.

Napoleon had induced Pope Pius VII. to come to Paris for the purpose of crowning him (December 2, 1804), but the Emperor did not allow himself to be diverted from more serious matters by the preparations for this sumptuous ceremony.

The promulgation in 1804 of the Civil Code of which he had actively superintended the drafting, and which long bore his name, inaugurated that unification of French legal procedure which in 1806 was extended to civil causes, in 1807 to commercial laws, in 1808 to criminal cases, and in 1810 to penal legislation.

Roads and canals were made in all directions, improvements effected in the ports of Cherbourg and Antwerp, considerable buildings erected in Paris and other large towns; the linen industry, weaving and cotton spinning were all fostered; sugar was extracted from beetroot, and French commerce generally, supported by the reputation of the victorious armies, recovered its lost ground in European markets.

Napoleon consented, without much difficulty, to become King of Italy, with the idea of giving some cohesion to that country, and thus making it the centre, if necessary, of attacks upon Austria. But this step was not only a mistaken act of policy as regarded the Italians, who would certainly have preferred a national ruler, but it also accentuated in the watchful eyes of Europe the ambitious views of the Emperor; and when Napoleon had to give up the idea of invading England, on the failure of the French Mediterranean fleet to pass Cape Finisterre, which was defended by Admiral Calder, and to rejoin their sovereign in the Channel, the third coalition against France had already taken form. It included Great Britain, Russia, Sweden, Austria, and Naples, and hostilities began simultaneously from Hanover, the valley of the Danube, Lombardy, and Southern Italy.

Napoleon marched towards the second of these points against General Mack, who was at the head of 80,000 Austrians, and had the Russian army behind him. By one of his accustomed manœuvres the Emperor, instead of attacking Mack at the entrance to the defiles of the Black Forest, rapidly crossed Franconia and threw himself between the enemy and Vienna. He was victorious at Wertingen, Gunzburg, and Elchingen, and forced Mack to retire upon Ulm, where the Austrian capitulated on the 19th of October, 1805, with the whole of his army. The joy caused by this victory would have been unalloyed if, two days later, Nelson had not destroyed the French fleet at Trafalgar, thus forcing Napoleon to abandon, for the moment, all idea of destroying the English power on the sea.

But the Emperor did not allow himself to be discouraged by this naval reverse. On his entry into Vienna on the 13th of November, he found himself threatened from two sides. One army, composed of Austrians and Russians, commanded by their respective sovereigns, was in Moravia; while another, with the Archduke Charles, at its head was slowly coming up from Italy although exposed to constant onslaughts from Masséna and Ney.

Napoleon marched against the allies in Moravia, and defeated them completely in the memorable battle of Austerlitz on the 2nd of December, 1805.

Austria, in alarm, sued for peace, but only obtained it on the harshest terms. By the Treaty of Presburg (signed on the 26th of December, 1805), Austria ceded Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia to the Kingdom of Italy, while the Tyrol and Austrian Suabia were divided between the Dukes of Bavaria, Wurtemburg, and Baden. Prussia, although only awaiting her opportunity to turn against Napoleon, judged it prudent for the hour to prove her zeal by accepting Hanover in exchange for Cleves, Wesel, and Neufchatel, which were given to France. Prussia also subscribed to the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire and to the simultaneous constitution of a Rhenish Confederation, from which she, as well as Austria, was excluded, but of which Napoleon, by an act of folly, caused himself to be proclaimed the official protector, thus incurring the risk of rousing the susceptibilities of German patriotism.

Such triumphs were well calculated to intoxicate, and Napoleon, whose fervid imagination was always ebullient, had no need of such stimuli to fall into excesses. In order to secure his conquests, he thought it well to distribute them among his brothers, his relatives, and his comrades in arms. Thus Joseph Bonaparte was crowned King of Naples, Louis Bonaparte made King of Holland, while others became

Grand Dukes, Princes, or Counts in Italy and Germany, and Napoleon further accustomed the army to the enjoyment of honours and money by periodically conferring both. At the same time he sought to perpetuate these creations by laws of primogeniture in favour of the sons of those originally ennobled. The effect, however, was only to corrupt public spirit by rousing the desire for luxury in men who, up to this time, had been willing to sacrifice their lives for glory; and simultaneously a just indignation awoke in the foreign populations, who saw their lands and their wealth pass into the possession of unscrupulous conquerors.

A final stroke of audacity crowned the structure of one man's omnipotence. Neither Russia nor England had joined Austria in concluding peace, and Napoleon, not without reason, suspected Prussia of intending to join these two Powers in a new attack upon Imperial France. Instead, then, of waiting to try conciliatory measures, he determined to take the offensive. His "Grand Army" was still on German territory, so, placing himself at its head on the 8th of October, 1806, he marched upon the Prussian line of communications with the Elbe, inflicted a defeat there on the 14th of the same month in the two battles of Auerstadt and Jena (in the latter of which the Duke of Brunswick was killed), then, pursuing Prince Hohenlohe and Blücher, forced them to surrender, with arms and baggage, at Prenzlau and Lübeck. In less than a month the Prussian army had been swept into space, and the conqueror made his entry into Berlin.

Master now of the German coast along the North

Sea and the Baltic, Napoleon turned his attention to dealing a decisive blow at England. Not being able to ruin her by force of arms, he determined to destroy her commerce, and by the decree issued at Berlin on the 21st of November, 1806, he declared a blockade against the British Isles and forbade all commercial relations with them. This is the measure usually known as the Continental Blockade. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, through the Channel, the Ocean, and the Mediterranean, all English merchandise became contraband of war, and every British subject might be thrown into prison. This was Napoleon's answer to the decision by which England proclaimed a fictitious blockade of the ports between Brest and Hamburg, thus closing them to the ships of neutral Powers. But the reply could not be complete as long as one port in Europe remained open to British merchant-vessels; and Russia still turned a deaf ear to the commands of the despot. Napoleon resolved to crush this remaining centre of resistance; and he undertook a mortal conflict with the Colossus of the North, far less to add new victories to his long list of triumphs than in the hope of striking at England in the person of the Tsar.

But the further he went away from France, the more treacherous grew the ground beneath his feet. He felt that one check would expose him to a declaration of war from the barely vanquished enemies whom he left behind, and who might at any moment cut off his line of communication with his base. For this reason he failed in carrying out his present campaign with the decision which had characterised him hitherto.

For instance, when established at Warsaw at the end of 1806, he hesitated to provoke a general insurrection of the Poles for fear of displeasing the Court of Vienna. Some preliminary engagements, with heavy losses, took place at Czarnovo, Golymin, Soldau, and Pultusk, but Napoleon judged it well not to proceed further for the moment, and took up his winter quarters in front of the Vistula. The Russians, commanded by Benningsen, believed they could surprise him with advantage, but the battle of Eylau, on the 8th of February, 1807, soon undeceived them, although the French losses were so heavy that Napoleon determined to remain in his winter quarters, and contented himself with investing Dantzig. which fell into his power in the month of May.

In the summer the Russians returned to the charge. Napoleon, however, had found the means of reconstituting his army and manœuvring in such a way as to bring the enemy into positions favourable to himself. The victory of Friedland on the 14th of June, 1807, not only caused a precipitate retreat of the Russians, but also led to the capitulation of Koenigsberg, the last town where the Prussians still held out. The Tsar Alexander was convinced that nothing more could be done for the moment. He began also in his turn to be fascinated by Napoleon's genius, and to cherish some resentment against England for her unremitting efforts to stir up and subsidise the European Powers without taking the field herself.

An interview took place at Tilsit between the two Emperors, and a peace was the result on the 8th of July, 1807.

This peace was made almost entirely at the expense of Prussia, which was reduced to the possession merely of her eastern provinces, and even among these had to endure the loss of Dantzig, which was made a free town, and of Magdeburg, where a French garrison was installed. Within Prussian territory, between the Elbe and the Rhine, the Kingdom of Westphalia was created for the benefit of Jerome Bonaparte, while Saxony was enriched by Prussian Poland and invited, with Westphalia, to join the Rhenish Confederation. Napoleon bestowed on the Tsar the right of seizing Finland, and even, if necessary, the Ottoman provinces of the Danube; while for himself he took the mouths of the Cattaro and the Ionian Islands, with absolute liberty to do what he liked with them.

At a first glance, France in the year 1807 appears at the utmost height of power which human imagination could conceive; but in reality nothing could be more fragile than the edifice which Napoleon had built up at the cost of blood and suffering.

As once Charlemagne in the midst of feudatory Markgraves, so was now the Emperor of the French surrounded by tributary states in which he had installed his vassals. But these states had only a factitious existence; they were too feeble to subsist alone. Their rulers and functionaries were standing, so to speak, on air in the midst of indifferent or hostile subjects. A breath was sufficient to crumble the whole edifice into dust, leaving nothing behind it but the bitter hatred provoked by abuse of power. And bitterest of all foes was Prussia, in whose soul humiliation bred an inexorable resentment, and whose very misery was

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fertile for regeneration and became the well-spring of an overwhelming vengeance.

Napoleon's own system was henceforth to be his ruin. He became incapable of standing the smallest contradiction or the faintest effort at revolt.

The grave blunder which England made in bombarding Copenhagen caused Denmark, and even Austria, to adhere to the Continental Blockade; but a still graver blunder of Napoleon's repaired the consequences of Great Britain's action, and brought about the final resistance of Europe to the Imperial idea.

Spain had been an ally of France ever since 1795, but her Bourbon rulers hardly offered sufficient proofs of their docility to Napoleon, and in 1806 there had been a moment when they seemed inclined to make common cause with Russia. The Emperor imagined that he could bind Spain to himself by proposing to associate her in the conquest of Portugal—the only portion of the Western Continent where English influence still predominated, but so feebly at any rate for the moment, that a slight effort might easily have annihilated it.

An army corps under Junot reached Lisbon without having to strike a blow. But by a strange coincidence this very opportunity which Napoleon had chosen for attacking the Iberian Peninsula was, of all others, the one least favourable for such an undertaking. For the Pope had refused to allow the States of the Church to join the Continental Blockade, and had equally declined to recognise Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples, whereupon the Emperor determined to occupy Rome (April 2, 1808) and to transform the Papal States into simple Departments of France.

This step roused the hostility of the whole Catholic world, and more especially of Spain, where religious fanaticism has always held sway. And as if this were not enough to alienate the Spanish people, Napoleon committed yet another mistake.

The King, Charles IV., who was old and ill, formed the centre of various Court intrigues, of which the object consisted in preventing Prince Ferdinand's succession to the throne. The latter addressed an entreaty for aid to Napoleon, who, in the hope of obtaining a new ally, was willing at first to afford it. Things changed, however, when, in consequence of the insurrection of Aranjuez, Charles decided upon abdicating, and appointed Ferdinand as his successor.

This did not suit the views of the Emperor, to whom it now appeared that the best and easiest plan would be to remove the last Bourbon who still reigned on the continent of Europe. Wherefore he ordered his brother Joseph to cede the crown of Naples to Murat, and to come at once to mount the throne of Spain.

The introduction of a foreign prince was by no means to the taste of the Spaniards, and while Court functionaries were hastening to do homage to the new sovereign, the Spanish people, exhorted by their priests, rose in revolt. In a few days the insurrection was general, and although the victory of Bessières at Rio-Seco on the 14th of July, 1808, opened the access to his new capital to King Joseph, the French troops were beaten at Saragossa and Valencia, forced on the 21st of July to capitulate at Baylen, defeated once more at Vimeira in Portugal by the British, who had hastened to the rescue, and compelled to withdraw in the autumn of the same year beyond the Ebro.

Napoleon arrived at once with reinforcements from the army in Germany, and by victories at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela in November, 1808, he brought his brother and the French flag back to Madrid. At the same time General Soult drove back the British to Corunna and General Gouvion Saint-Cyr retook Catalonia. Napoleon, however, had no leisure wherein to complete his conquests or pacify the country, for Austria had seized the opportunity of his absence to come again to the front, and being lavishly supplied with English gold, and trusting to an insurrection in Germany and in Italy, she declared war against France.

Napoleon hastened to the scene, and, uniting the two armies of his excellent lieutenants Masséna and Davoust, he inflicted crushing defeats on the Archduke Charles at Abensberg and Eckmühl on the 20th and 22nd of April, 1809. On the 13th of May he entered Vienna in triumph. On the 21st and 22nd of the same month he endeavoured to cross the Danube and complete the rout of the Austrian Generalissimo, but the battle of Essling was a fruitless massacre. Napoleon then summoned his troops from Italy, resumed the offensive, and gained the victory of Wagram on the 6th of July. Austria, defeated for the third time, signed an armistice at Znaym on the 11th, and followed it up with the Treaty of Vienna, completed on the 14th of October, by which the French Empire gained Illyria, while various portions of the Austrian territory went to enrich Bavaria, Saxony, and even Russia.

In spite of these successes public opinion was not favourable to the French. Napoleon had hardly quitted Spain before events began again to be hostile to him. Soult had failed in reconquering Portugal and Ney had lost Galicia, while at Talavera King Joseph nearly suffered defeat (July 27, 1809).

And even where the conqueror himself was present victory cost more efforts than previously. The enemy had grown in energy as the French army had lost in cohesion and determination. The young conscripts and the foreign contingents, furnished though they were by pretended allies, made a bad substitute for the many humble heroes who for fifteen years past had met their death on European battlefields. The northern frontier of the Empire was threatened when the English seized Flushing on the 15th of August, 1809, and Antwerp itself would probably have been taken had not fever decimated the troops on their disembarkation.

Napoleon perceived the growing perils of his situation, but tried yet again to defy Fate by renewed affirmations of his ambition. Not satisfied with having placed members of the family of Bonaparte on various European thrones, he aspired now to the hand of an Imperial Princess in the hope that she might give him the heir whom Josephine

Beauharnais had not borne, and at the same time secure for France the moral support of her native country. Napoleon divorced Josephine, and married the Archduchess Marie Louise on the 1st of April, 1810. A son was the fruit of this union, and received in baptism the pompous title of King of Rome (March 20, 1811). His birth, however, was the sole advantage, if such it could even be called, which accrued from this marriage. Austria was not to be won over to France, but, on the contrary, only awaited an opportunity to fall once again upon Napoleon. The opportunity came when Napoleon, who after his mistaken action in Spain had only one blunder left to commit, decided upon the war with Russia.

He found a pretext by strictly enforcing the Continental Blockade. This measure had been the governing idea of the Napoleonic reign, and was to be the cause of its ultimate destruction. Already, in 1810, King Louis Bonaparte, rather than ruin his subjects, had preferred to quit the throne which his imperious brother had bestowed upon him. First Holland, then Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck were united to France, so as to allow of a more vigorous repression of the English contraband trade. As the watch kept in the Russian ports of the Baltic was less severe, Napoleon called upon the Tsar to fulfil his engagements better. But Alexander, who was already alarmed at the territorial acquisitions which had brought France almost to his door, refused to acquiesce in the arrogant demand. Having concluded peace with Turkey on the 28th of May, 1812, and secured the support of Sweden, where the hereditary Prince, formerly Bernadotte, had so completely forgotten his French origin as to become prime mover in opposition to Napoleon, the Tsar made up his mind to face the chances of war. Without even waiting to pacify Spain, Napoleon collected 600,000 men, of whom one-third were foreigners, and marched in the direction of Moscow, with the avowed intention, well known to his staff, of proceeding thence towards Tiflis and British India.

He reached Moscow indeed, but there his military career was destined to receive a final check. Having crossed the Niemen at Kovno on the 25th of June, 1812, he remained too long at Vilna, occupied Witepsk on the 28th of July, and entered Smolensk on the 17th–19th of August after a sanguinary struggle.

The enemy retreated continually as the French advanced along the vast, deserted, and soon to be frozen plains of Russia. Napoleon succeeded, however, in coming to close quarters with the foe at last, and was victorious at Borodino on the 7th of September, but the battle was won with such terrible loss of life and by such prodigies of valour that Napoleon, being so far from his reserves, hesitated to follow up his success by pursuing the Russian army.

He entered Moscow on the 15th of September, but only to find it an immense brazier, the Governor having fired the town before evacuating it.

Napoleon nevertheless remained there a month, awaiting offers of peace which did not come. At last, overtaken by the first cold, he decided upon a retreat (October 18). What this retreat proved to be is well known: its disasters have passed into a legend. Already when it began, the French army counted only 80,000 men. Frost, famine, disease, and battle aiding, only 20,000 at last reached the Niemen at the end of December. The engagements of Krasnoë, Beresina, and Vilna once more cast lustre on French arms, but the tenacity of the Russian character and the rigour of the Russian climate finally triumphed even over courage and military genius.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon learnt that in Spain the French forces had been driven back by degrees to the Pyrenees, thanks to the unceasing efforts of Wellington, who, ever since repulsing the attack of Masséna on the lines of Torres-Vedras, had slowly but surely regained all the ground lost in preceding campaigns. But the Emperor had no leisure to devote for the moment to the South. He had to allow Wellington to beat King Joseph at Vittoria and threaten the French frontier, while turning his own attention to a more pressing danger in the East. From the moment that the disasters in Russia, with their weakening effect on Napoleon's power, had become known, all the personal resentment of the European sovereigns and all the national hatreds which twelve years had accumulated against France, broke bounds. Prussia allied herself with Russia, all Germany followed suit, soon to be joined by Austria, who was willing to leave Marie Louise to her fate. Hastily collecting an improvised army, Napoleon managed to beat the allied forces on the 2nd of May, 1813, at Lützen; but, exasperated by the very dangers of his position, still confident in his star, and refusing to recognise either the insurgent world in front of him or the exhausted France that lay behind, he declined to treat on condition of ceding Illyria and his German possessions. One last victory gained at Dresden on the 26th and 27th of August seemed for a moment to justify his attitude, but the various secondary defeats which his lieutenants suffered, and the battle, or rather battles, of Leipzig (October 16–19) obliged him to beat a retreat.

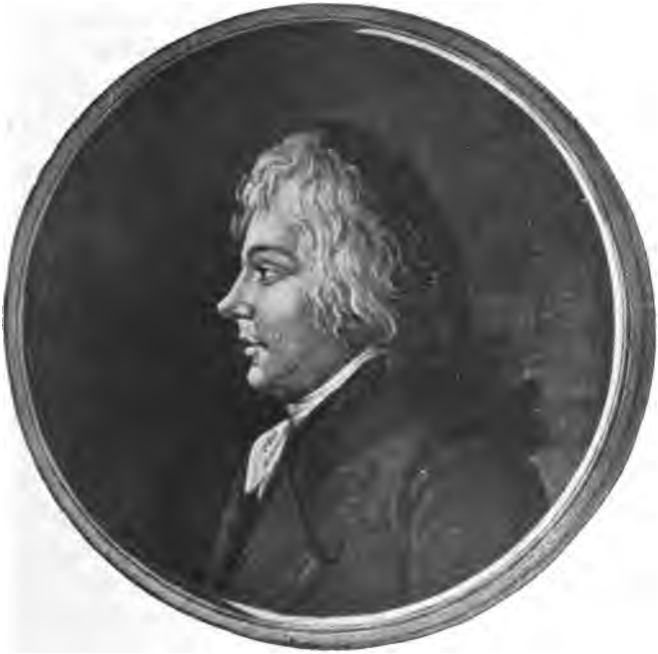
The glory of years was now a thing of the past. France was invaded on the south by Wellington, on the east by Blücher and Schwarzenberg. Napoleon tried to galvanise the country by calling for a levy *en masse* and demanding a general rising. But he had strained patriotism to breaking point, and among all the functionaries whom he had placed in the great offices of State he found no man who was not now bent upon saving his own life, and above all his fortune.

One day, in 1812, during the Russian campaign, a report had been spread of the conqueror's death, and this announcement alone sufficed to stop all the wheels of government, for, failing Napoleon, there was no man who could keep the enormous machine at work. France had no longer any life of her own, and when misfortune and invasion threatened, Napoleon looked in vain for a trace of the heroic enthusiasm of 1792. The nation was weary and servile, with only strength left to complain of the long and bitter sacrifices it had been called upon to make.

Napoleon had still an available force of 60,000 men. With these he hurried eastwards to make one last effort, and on French ground—for it was here that hostilities were now transported—he performed once more prodigious acts of valour. He defeated Blücher at Saint Dizier and Brienne (January 27 and 29, 1814), was repulsed at La Rothière on the 1st of February, but victorious again over the Prussians at Champaubert, Montmirail, Château - Thierry and Vauchamps (February 10, 11, 13, and 14). He also defeated the Austrians at Mormant, at Nangis, and at Donnemarie (February 16 and 17), and once again beat Blücher at Soissons and Craonne. But at Laon (March 10) he met with a repulse, was almost defeated at Arcis-sur Aube (March 20 and 21), and on learning that his Marshals Marmont and Mortier had been beaten in front of Paris on the 31st of March and that the capital had been occupied by the enemy, he withdrew to Fontainebleau and, succumbing at last to the number of his foes, and finding himself abandoned by his oldest lieutenants, he finally determined to abdicate (April 5).

Thus terminated the career of the man who, born of war, perished by war. His glory was to know but one brief revival a year later, and even that epilogue was destined to be fatal to France. The military and administrative genius of Napoleon was remarkable for an extraordinary mixture of practical good sense and extravagance. The internal reforms by which he restored order and calmed the public mind were yet marred by excessive centralisation and compression; while his foreign policy, although ostensibly intended to free France from the invaders, merely served the purposes of his own overmastering ambition and not simply brought the invader back to France, but left the country more feeble than it had been under Bonaparte's predecessors.

Nevertheless, his achievements were useful in the end to Europe, for throughout the immense extent of territory which formed the theatre of war, Napoleon overthrew a number of decrepit dynasties and founded the great united nations of our day. The love of national independence, the revolt against feudalism,



TALLEYRAND.

and the knowledge of civil equality followed on the track of the French armies; but just because the propaganda resulted on invasion, it was accompanied by a hatred against France which is not yet appeased.

And it may truly be said that if France owes to Napoleon a period of unexampled lustre and renown, she has also him largely to thank for the foreign and domestic complications of her present position

VI.

THE FIRST RESTORATION (*April 7, 1814—March 26, 1815*).—THE HUNDRED DAYS (*March 27 to June 23, 1815*).

EVEN before Napoleon's abdication the idea of restoring the Bourbons to the throne had found utterance in France. At Bordeaux, whither Wellington had advanced after the victory of Toulouse, the Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., had been proclaimed king under the name of Louis XVIII. (March 12). At Paris even the Senate, edged on by the crafty Talleyrand, hastened to pronounce the dethronement of Napoleon (April 3) and to draw up a Constitution for Louis XVIII. to sign as a condition of his return to power, while almost simultaneously concluding with the Allies a treaty which reduced France once again to the frontiers established on the 1st of January, 1792 (April 28).

This idea of admitting Louis XVIII. only on certain conditions, if due to men who were at the same time guilty of great ingratitude towards Napoleon, was all the same a measure of real political significance. It formed, in fact, the only possible method of compromise between the doctrines born of the Revolution and that portion of the Ancient Régime which it was necessary to restore; and if France in 1814 had been able to do what she did in 1830, and what England had already done in 1688, many painful crises would have been averted, or at any rate long delayed. But, unfortunately, events took another turn. The Restoration soon showed itself as implying a total subversion of the Revolution, and fresh political convulsions were the inevitable result.

Louis XVIII., although firmly attached to the principle of the Right Divine, was yet sufficiently intelligent to understand that he could not by a stroke of the pen suppress all that had happened in France during twenty-five years. His proclamation, dated from Hartwell on the 1st of January, 1814, distinctly promised that the composition of the administrative and judicial bodies should be unchanged; that government functionaries should continue at their posts, and officers suffer no degradation of rank; that the Civil Code should be preserved intact except "in some points which are contrary to religion," and that no reprisals consequent on the Revolution would be allowed. But, on the other hand, the document was dumb as to the political guarantees to be offered to the public. The current of reaction against absolute power which had followed on Napoleon's tyranny might have been utilised by the King in a way to make himself leader of the liberal party. But instead of listening to the wise councils of some among his allies, especially the Tsar, who was wonderfully penetrated with the impossibility of establishing in France the despotic rule which he wielded in his own person in Russia, Louis preferred to engage himself in no way, and invited the country to confide in his royal pleasure for such concessions as he was willing to make.

The Senate, aided by the Allies, might indeed have wrung the necessary guarantees from the King; but the Constitution drafted by that body in the first days of April proved how much more its authors were thinking of their own advantage than of the public weal. Certainly the project contained excellent political suggestions. A Senate, named by the King; a Legislative Chamber, named by the electorate and susceptible of dissolution; responsible ministers who might sit in Parliament; an inviolable King, chosen, however, constitutionally in the person of Louis XVIII.; both Chambers to be able to present projects of law, but the Lower House alone to initiate measures of Finance: such was the programme, and it obviously revived the clauses of the Constitution of 1789. But the public did not perceive that. All it saw was that the sitting Senators had stipulated that they should form part of the new Senate and keep their emoluments untouched. Such a claim was too cynically calculating not to bring discredit on the whole scheme and its authors. "This is not a political Constitution, but a self-constitution of income" ran a witty remark. And as Louis XVIII. was surrounded with uncompromising royalists, among whom was his own brother and presumptive heir, the Count d'Artois, who refused to give up the doctrine of a pure Right Divine, he took advantage of the situation to reject the propositions of the Senate, and to formulate on his own account the concessions which he was prepared to make. Therefore in his famous declaration dated from St. Ouen on the 2nd of May, 1814, Louis styled himself "King of France and Navarre by the Grace of God," the better to show that he held his crown exclusively from Heaven and not by the will of the people, while he promised to confer a Constitution on his subjects and to submit it, but for advice only, to the Senate and the Legislative Chamber.

Hence the Charter which was promulgated on the 4th of June. It had been drawn up by a mixed Commission of Senators and Deputies, but was not submitted either to the Senate or the Legislative Chamber!

The document starts from the fundamental principle that royalty is anterior and superior to everything; only the King voluntarily undertakes certain reforms in the ancient procedure of the monarchy.

Some insignificant concessions are made to the spirit of the age; the possession of national property is assured to its holders; religious liberty and equality are guaranteed, but with the important proviso that Roman Catholicism is proclaimed to be the "Religion of the State"; liberty of the Press is promised with a reservation for the reform of abuses; the abolition of universal conscription proclaims that the era of military enterprise is closed, and if members of the old nobility resume their titles, the newly ennobled at any rate keep theirs, and the magistracy is pronounced irremovable.

The Charter confers on the King exclusively the initiative and the sanction of laws. Article 14, which in 1830 was to help Charles X. to make his *coup-d'état*, provides that the Sovereign may take all the measures necessary for the application of the law and the security of the State. He names all life peers and all hereditary members of the Chamber of Peers, which assembly is unsalaried and deliberates in secret.

The Chamber of Deputies, whose sittings are public, must be returned by electors paying at least 300 francs of direct taxes, and chosen among persons whose assessment is fixed at a minimum of 1,000 francs.

The Deputies are to be renewed to the extent of one-fifth every year. Ministers are responsible to the Chamber, and may be arraigned by it, but must then be tried by the Peers, who also take cognisance of attempts against the State.

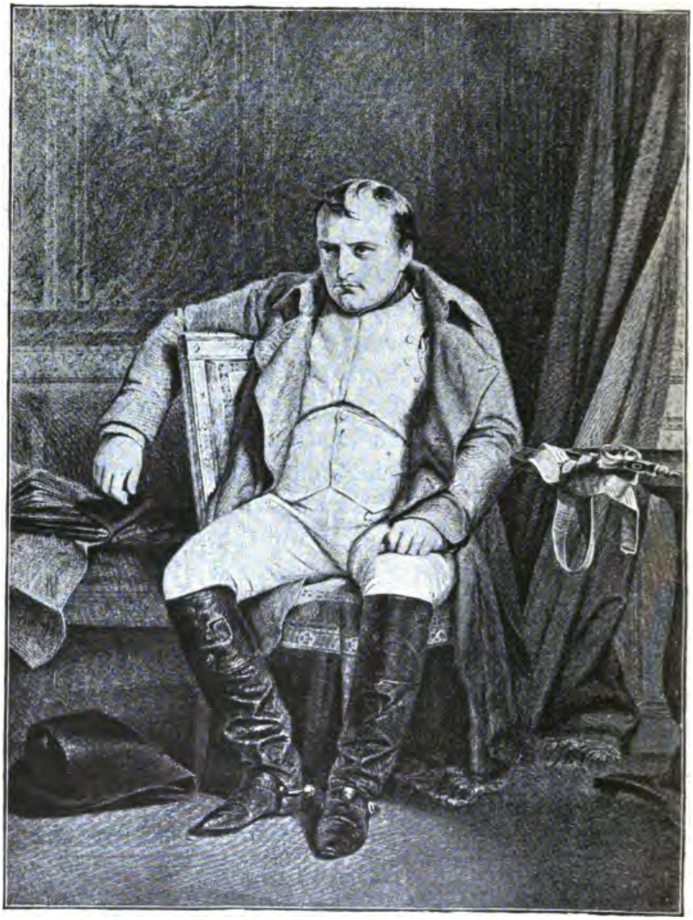
In spite of some defects in detail, notably the limited electorate—for the number of persons paying 300 francs of taxation did not amount to one hundred thousand—the provisions of this Charter afforded France an opportunity of trying a liberal and serious form of government, after the license of the Revolution and the depotism of the Empire. To facilitate the work of transition, Louis took care to call to the Chamber of Peers the greater number composing the Imperial Senate, and to change nothing but the name of the Legislative Body, which became known as the Chamber of Deputies. And the majority of Liberals whose voice had so long been unheard, men like Benjamin Constant, Lafayette, Cousin, and others, hailed with joy the new dawn of political freedom.

Nevertheless, throughout the country a growing anxiety soon became apparent. For the Restoration was not simply a political phenomenon. The return of the emigrant nobles constituted a grave—perhaps the gravest—social problem, since it involved the simultaneous existence or superposition of two different societies, the component members of which during twenty-five years had been strangers to one another, or, worse than strangers, bitter foes. Frenchmen who had not left their country in that interval, but, adapting themselves little by little to a liberal *régime*, had learnt to march with the times, desired to preserve the civil conquests of the Revolution and to enjoy unmolested the share of national property which they had paid for in hard cash. But those who had followed their princes into exile execrated the Revolution quite as much as the Empire. They stigmatised the Charter as an act of unpardonable weakness; they advocated a return to the system "of their fathers," in other words to absolute monarchy, and demanded to be reinstated not merely in their lands but also in their privileges, such as the preponderance of the clergy in public instruction, and preferential distinctions of military rank for the nobles. They even went so far as to ask for the restoration of primogeniture, the abolition of civil marriage, and a return to the administrative divisions of pre-revolutionary France. In short, they announced themselves as not merely conservative, but reactionary, and their arrogance alarmed the public mind. And this alarm was rendered all the greater by the fact that Louis XVIII., who later distinguished himself by his firm resistance to the exaggerated demands of the "ultras," was at this time surrounded by ministers in open opposition to the Charter which the Sovereign himself had decreed.

This circumstance naturally provoked doubts of the sincerity of Louis's own Liberalism, and other facts were not wanting to aggrieve the public still more directly, either by menacing the security of property or by wounding national susceptibility. The appointment of General Dupont as Minister of War; the capitulation of Baylen; the honours rendered to the memory of Cadoudal and various other generals who had betrayed the national flag; the dismissal on half-pay from the army and navy of a great number of officers to make room for emigrants who had fought against France—were one and all obnoxious to the nation. Various acts of religious intoleration further exasperated the country, and brought it to a condition in which the slightest breath was soon to suffice to upset the Restoration.

Napoleon, a prisoner in the Island of Elba, was kept informed of the state of the public mind by the numerous adherents whom he had left in France. As soon as he thought the situation of the Bourbons sufficiently imperilled, he left suddenly with the small band of old troopers who had accompanied him in his retreat, and disembarking in the Gulf of Juan on the 1st of March, 1815, he arrived as far as Grenoble without meeting with the smallest resistance.

By a series of lively and ardent proclamations, such as he knew well how to make, he convinced the nation that its sovereignty had been outrageously violated, and roused such intense enthusiasm that the



NAPOLEON IN 1814–1815.
(*From the painting by Paul Delaroche.*)

troops sent to resist him, first under General Labédoyère, and then under Marshal Ney, simply went over to him without striking a blow. On the 19th of March, Louis XVIII., feeling himself deserted, fled from Paris, and Napoleon effected his entry the following day.

He found the public in a very different state of mind to that which he had known one year previously. In his exile he had thoroughly recognised the fact that during his first reign he had carried his contempt of political liberty much too far, and he had consequently been careful to profess liberal principles in the first speeches which he made during his journey from the south to Paris.

But the enthusiasm of his reception had reawakened his old instinct of domination, and by the time he reached the capital he addressed once more as "subjects" the men whom, at starting, he had hailed by the name of "citizens." A few interviews with functionaries and public servants convinced him, however, that it would be necessary to treat very seriously the universal desire for security against personal power, and that the great fault found with the Restoration was far less that a Bourbon had remounted the throne than that he had granted institutions which were not sufficiently liberal.

Napoleon at once adapted himself to the situation, and, sending for Benjamin Constant, he said, "Give me your advice. I will grant public debates, free election of responsible ministers, and liberty of the press, . . . above all liberty of the press: to restrict that is absurd!"

Nevertheless he interfered rather peremptorily with the Commission which he had charged to draft a form of government. The Commission desired that all peers should be hereditary, and to this Napoleon was opposed. He observed, not without justice, that in France there was no real aristocracy of which the members were distinguished either for power or for public spirit. "In thirty years from now," he said, "my mushroom nobles will be merely soldiers or court chamberlains: their place will be a camp or an antechamber."

But on this point he gave way, standing out firmly on others. He insisted that the clause of the charter forbidding confiscation should be expurgated, a decision which caused some alarm among holders of property. He also stipulated, with the view of formally establishing the continuity of the Imperial tradition, that the new Constitution should be styled an Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire; and this phrase, by implying a certain identity with the former statute, suggested a fear that one day the older measure might be revived.

The Additional Act, which was promulgated on the 22nd of April and submitted to a merely formal plebiscite, of which the results were solemnly proclaimed on the 1st of June, did, in point of fact, contain some genuine improvements on the charter of 1814.

Hereditary peership might in course of time give a real independence to the Upper Chamber; the substitution of twenty-five for forty-five years as the age at which men were eligible for Parliament, threw open a political career to the new generations, while the publicity of the debates in the two chambers allowed public opinion to control parliamentary discussions.

On the other hand, ministerial responsibility was subjected to very complicated formalities. Instead of a partial there was to be a total renewal of the Lower Chamber every five years, and the system of electoral colleges established in the Year X. was revived, with the double difference, however, that the primary electoral assemblies filled up annually the vacancies in the colleges, and these, the component members of which were chosen from among the most highly taxed representatives of the nation, definitively elected the deputies instead of merely presenting a list of candidates for government approval.

But by this time the clash of arms resounded on all sides. The plenipotentiaries of the Powers who were sitting in congress at Vienna in order to wind up proceedings after the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, and to reconstitute the map of Europe, now hastened to proclaim Napoleon an outlaw and to renew the ties, so lately dissolved, of the last Coalition.

Vendée, honeycombed with royalists, was once more insurgent. In a moment the situation of 1792 had returned.

As in 1792, patriotism reawoke in France, unaccompanied, however, by the same confident hopes, and destined to be confronted by a more united Europe, better armed for war and more determined to put a final end to the bellicose and revolutionary instincts of France.

Napoleon, true to his genius, did not wait for the army to seek him. Taking the offensive, he entered Belgium on the 15th of June with 130,000 men, and on the 16th, in spite of General Bourmont's treachery, he routed the Prussians at Ligny under Blücher; but the discomfiture inflicted on this general was not sufficient to prevent his marching on the 18th to Waterloo, where, through his support of Wellington's admirable tactics, the French army suffered an irreparable defeat.

Napoleon returned vanquished to Paris, whither the Allies soon followed him.

The inhabitants of the capital were little disposed to sacrifice themselves or to surrender their recently acquired liberties for the sole glory of Napoleon, and the Chamber of Deputies, which had held its first sittings on the 3rd of June, chose for its president Lanjuinais, who was a true Liberal.

In spite of administrative pressure, and notwithstanding the many hindrances which the Imperial Government, in contradiction to its promises, had placed in the way of a free Press, not more than sixty pure Bonapartists were returned at the General Election. The majority was formed of Moderate Liberals, and these had instantly taken measures for preserving their independence should Napoleon be victorious, or for avoiding all participation in his fall if he were defeated

On the arrival of the news of Waterloo, the general expectation was that the Emperor would make a *coup-d'état.* On the motion of Lafayette, the Chamber declared itself to be permanently sitting, and summoned the Ministers to its bar.

Disconcerted by this sudden measure, Napoleon began by forbidding the Ministers to obey the call; but later, seeing himself deserted and losing his own faith in his star, betrayed moreover by his closest adherents, notably Fouché, who was negotiating and intriguing with everybody, the Allies included, the Emperor felt that at last all was lost.

On the 23rd of June he abdicated in favour of his young son, the King of Rome, and left for Rochefort, whence, having voluntarily surrendered to the English, he was conducted by them to St. Helena.

This solution was not unwelcome to the Chambers of Legislature. After the experience they had just had of a Bourbon, a Bonaparte advised by a Council of Regency and controlled by some new constitutional clauses might have proved acceptable.

Napoleon II. was consequently proclaimed sovereign, and a revised version of the Additional Act prepared, to serve either for the young Bonaparte or for Louis XVIII. (if he had to be reinstated), or any other king. The revision was made by a Commission of the Lower Chamber. Its principal features consisted in granting the initiative of the laws to Parliament and the Executive concurrently, in guaranteeing political as well as civil equality to all Frenchmen, in abolishing orders of nobility, old and new, and finally in imposing no property qualification either for the elected or for the electorate of the first degree.

This elaborate project was destined, however, to prove sterile. Acting under the advice of friends whose intelligence and capacity were greater than those of his Ministers in 1814—conspicuous among whom were Lally-Tollendal, Châteaubriand, and Talleyrand—Louis, from Cambraî, whither he had taken refuge, launched a proclamation, dated 27th of June, in which he sought with much tact to calm the public mind. Certainly he gave it to be understood that he would order new elections to the Chamber, and that particular persons whose share in recent events he considered too marked would not benefit by the royal clemency; but nevertheless he admitted that he had made mistakes, and professed himself ready to profit by his recent experience. He promised to form a united Ministry whose loyalty to the Charter would be assured, and energetically repudiated all intention of re-establishing tithes or feudal rights.

These assurances sufficed to restore public confidence; and as various high functionaries, beginning with Fouché, had no other thought than to prove their zeal and thus obtain good posts under the new Government, the efforts of the Chamber remained necessarily fruitless. On the 7th of July, Louis announced that he would return unconditionally to Paris, and on the following day the Chamber was dissolved.

Thus for the second time were the Bourbons restored, and the white flag replaced that tricolour to preserve which so much blood had been shed since 1792. But the situation of affairs was infinitely worse than in 1814.

The mad attempt known as the Hundred Days had reawakened the territorial greed of the Allies. Instead of the benevolence which they had exhibited towards the first Restoration, all their talk now was of mutilating frontiers, demanding indemnities enormous in amount for the period, and even of occupying French territory so as to prevent the possibility of new enterprises. And the treaty which finally closed the war forced France to pay more than one milliard of francs in different indemnities, quartered 150,000 foreign soldiers on her for three years at her cost, deprived her of Philippeville, Marienburg, Bouillon, Sarrelouis, Landau, and various communes in Aix and Savoy, thus leaving her frontiers exposed and the whole country geographically and strategically weaker than at the end of the reign of Louis XIV., while all her neighbours and rivals in Europe could boast of augmented power.

The domestic affairs of the country were in no better case. The Liberals, although hostile at first to the return of Napoleon I., had gradually rallied round him on finding him disposed to make concessions, and this movement accidentally, so to speak, gave birth to that monstrous alliance of Liberalism and Bonapartism of which later years were to witness the full development.

The Liberals exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the return of the Bourbons, and the failure of their efforts, joined to resentment at the punishment meted out by Louis to some of the functionaries who had deserted him on the 20th of March, threw them into the ranks of opposition to the dynasty, and even of conspiracy and military machinations.

The ultra-royalists, on the other hand, such as Polignac, La Bourdonnaye, Vitrolles, and others, returned from their second exile more violent, more embittered and more implacable than ever. More than ever, too, were they determined to carry on the struggle of the Old France and the New, and to this end they used both the Parliament and the Press, resorting even to secret associations, with which they honeycombed society in the hope of thereby effectually counteracting the concessions of the King.

What could Louis do, placed as he was between two parties, one reactionary, the other almost revolutionary?

He had not encouraged the last Coalition, but, on the contrary, had kept himself aloof from the Allies' quarters during the Waterloo campaign, intervening only at the Peace to moderate some of the excessive demands made by the victors. But it was true, all the same, that foreign aid had replaced him on the throne, and that, so far from having been recalled by the voice of France, he had been received with more than coldness by the population of Paris and the Chambers themselves.

He resolved to use every means of averting a conflict between the middle classes and the populace on the one hand, and the nobles and royalists on the other; and as an unmistakable proof of his intentions in this respect he included in his new Ministry two men who had sprung incontestably from the Revolution, namely, Talleyrand and Fouché.

In a letter written three years later to his brother, the Count d'Artois, he expressed in noble terms his sense of the mission which he had assigned to himself. "The system which I have adopted," he said, "has for its foundation the maxim that one man cannot be the sovereign of two peoples, and all the efforts of my government are directed towards achieving the unity of the French people, now unfortunately divided among themselves."

These elevated aims were, however, singularly difficult to realise in the atmosphere of greed and passion which surrounded the person of the King. Something like a *coup-d'état* was necessary in 1816 before he could get rid of the irreconcilables; and between that date and 1821 he succeeded only by a constant struggle in imposing his own ideas of moderation and justice on others. But the effort wore him out. He was already old, and, weary at last of being neither understood nor supported, Louis, from the last-mentioned date onwards, let the Restoration slide into a groove of reaction, along which, by gradual steps, it was finally brought to the Revolution of 1830.

VII

LETTERS, ARTS AND SCIENCES FROM 1789 TO 1815.

It would seem as if the brilliant outburst of literature in the eighteenth century had exhausted the genius of France, leaving nothing to be produced during the brief but stirring times between 1789 to 1815.

The Revolution was nourished and inspired by Voltaire, Diderot, and J. J. Rousseau, whose works formed, so to speak, a thick and tall plantation in whose shadow no other growth was possible.

But, in fact, the continual wars in which the nation wasted its strength, and the tyrannical centralisation imposed by Napoleon on the French mind, constituted a very unfavourable environment for any production of genius. Unbridled action—the *destructive* action of the wars of the Revolution and the Empire, the *constructive* action of Napoleon's Assemblies—chiefly characterised the period, and it is consequently on the active side, among orators, controversialists and sociologists, that we must seek the best examples of literature.

Similar influences reigned in Art, but Science, immersed in the consideration of enduring phenomena, and therefore naturally alien to political agitation, was not prevented by the troubles of the times from yielding marvellous results. Indeed, one of the chief features of French history at this date is the imperturbable progress of scientific research in the midst of social convulsions.

LETTERS.

If the Revolution had not suddenly destroyed polite society and cut short artistic leisure, it is certain that a special form of literature, what one might call a Louis Seize literature, would have arisen.

Towards the end of the Ancient Régime one perceives, concurrently with the philosophical movement of the period, an æsthetic current flowing from those springs of antique beauty of which the very existence had been forgotten. The erudition and spirit of archæological research which distinguished the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, and were especially marked in the Græco-Roman studies of the Count de Caylus (*vide* his Scenes from Homer and Virgil), had a strong influence upon David and other painters.

The Abbé Barthélémy's "Journey of Young Anacharsis in Greece" met with a success which proves the reviving interest of the public in antiquity, and André Chénier, the greatest poet of the age, was soon about to give true literary expression to the Greek ideal of plastic beauty.

Contemporary with these Neo-Hellenists were the disciples of Rousseau, Bernardin de St. Pierre, the emotional philosopher, Madame de Staël, author of "Les Passions," Mirabeau, the impassioned writer of the "Letters to Sophie," and Madame Roland, the incarnation of the "New Heloïse." Again there were the "hommes d'esprit," or wits such as Rivarol and Chamfort, who carried the art of conversation (*causerie*) to perfection, and finally the later encyclopædists, Condorcet and Volney.

Here we see the direction in which literature would have developed under Louis XVI. but for the profound modifications introduced by the Revolution. When that period had passed a new literature arose, which bore a superficial air of neo-classicism, and belonged to the Græco-Roman movement through the correct poetry of Fontanes and the purity of style of Paul-Louis Courier. Essentially it was composed of revived Catholicism, lyrical exaggeration, Wertherism, and changes in the genius of the language, all of which elements constituted a preparation for the so-called Romantic School.

ORATORY.

The Clubs and Assemblies of the Revolution, wherein new ideas and absorbing interests were debated with such energy, naturally produced many brilliant orators, all of whom possess a fervid, passionate eloquence, often unrestrained, and most frequently invested with the pompous forms of ancient rhetoric.

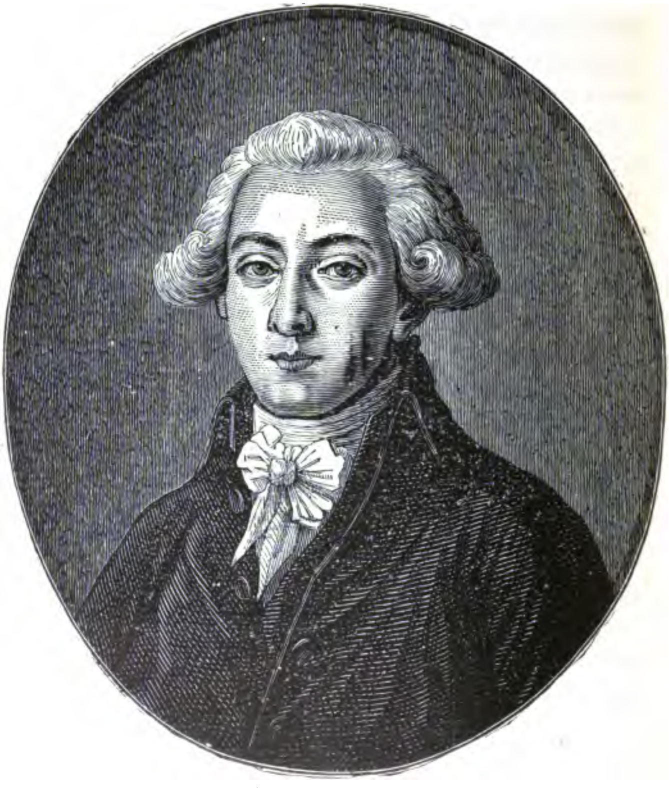
High above all towers Mirabeau. His chief characteristic is passion, a passion which flames in his famous "Letters to Sophie" (1777–1780), which elevates his speech to sublimity, animates his countenance, and lends accents of penetrating emotion to his voice. Yet fervour in him was always moderated by the force of his reasoning and the quickness of his apprehension. Rarely indeed in any politician have passion, reasoning power and wit been united to the same degree as in Mirabeau, who, thanks to his possession of such qualities, becomes the very type of orators, and the representative of the whole French nation at this period when daring was only surpassed by genius.

The Abbé Maury, champion of the clergy and nobles, was a more skilful dialectician, but he had the defects of his qualities. He was a rhetorician, and put too much preparation into his phrases and too much artifice into the march of his ideas. But his prodigious memory, his facility, his rapid perception, his imperturbability and the magnificent quality of his voice, raised him to the chief rank among the adversaries of Mirabeau, who was accustomed to say of him, "When he is right we dispute, when he is wrong I crush him."

Danton, "King of the Market Place" (*roi des Halles*), that tribune of the biting and fiery tongue, played at street corners the same part as Mirabeau in the Assembly, and succeeded to him there on the latter's death.

Danton's character is well expressed in the words which he pronounced on the 2nd of September: "That cannon which you hear is our charge upon the enemy. To conquer, what do we need? Audacity, yet more audacity, always audacity."

Marat, "friend of the people" and most energetic of publicists, carried his hatred of usurpers to the



BOISSY D'ANGLAS.

pitch of genius. His eloquence was inspired by rage and revolt, and was united to a remarkable promptitude of judgment. "I cease not from preaching insurrection," he said, "after having shattered the talisman of a false respect for degraded chiefs. . . . Death, death, that is the punishment which should await all traitors who are bent upon destroying us."

Desmoulins was a fluent, witty, and sarcastic rhetorician, who appealed to the most enlightened classes of the public by the enthusiasm manifested in his anonymous writings, and fired them by the ardour of youthful talent with which he urged them to the exercise of the loftiest virtue and patriotism.

Vergniaud, the most eloquent of the Girondins, was principally distinguished by a scorn of men, which lent to his utterances in general a haughtiness further intensified by his noble manner. A strict logician and gifted with a keen and open mind, he would, but for his natural indolence, have been the Mirabeau of the Legislative Assembly.

Robespierre took his stand upon lofty principles, which he sought to apply with uncompromising strictness. He was sober, and of elegant habits, but possessed by the high-flown tendencies of his age and inflated with false conceptions of metaphysics and history. Nevertheless the strength of his convictions produced a great effect. "That man will go far," said Mirabeau. "He believes everything he says."

Saint-Just was the philosopher and moralist of the Mountain. He was saturated with the "sensibility" of the time, and it was doubtless this emotional quality which gave suppleness and picturesqueness to his clear and rapid speech. "Tyranny is a reed which bends before the wind and recovers itself," he said. And again: "Abuses disappear for an instant, then reappear, just as we see humidity vanish from the ground only to fall once more from the skies."

Every style of eloquence finds its representative among these men, who have been chosen for mention because their names are familiar to the world. Differing among themselves in talent and political ideals, they are yet stamped by the French Revolution with one common characteristic. One and all are convinced that they are working for mankind, that their mission is to achieve universal equality—hence their generalisations and the poetical enthusiasm which lifts them above the common.

This same belief animated Napoleon, being singularly strengthened by a mystical faith in his genius and his star. He was the one great orator of the post-revolutionary period. His proclamations to his army are models of concision, force, and noble imagery. His "eagle-glance" astonished the political assemblies, whom the profundity of his conceptions and his marvellous analytical faculty overmastered. His actions, his writings, his words, the grandeur of his rise, and the ruin of his fall combined to create a poetical legend to which many literary *chefs d'œuvre* later owe their origin.

SOCIOLOGICAL AND ECONOMICAL RESEARCH.

Politicians sought to reduce to a concrete form the aspirations of mankind towards happiness; while numberless abstract thinkers, moved by similar feelings of benevolence, dreamed of a social state in which every person might have an equal share of good fortune. And among these dreamers were some who considered the possibility of imposing their theories, and all the consequences to be derived from them, by violent means upon their fellow-citizens.

The most celebrated of all, Babœuf, paid for the audacity of his views with his life. His opinion was that Property belongs to the nation, and that individual possession is a usurpation. No citizen should be entitled to more than the usufruct of the land: to live he must work. Education should be national, universal, and equal, and every man should bear arms. Everybody has a right to be happy: everybody should be happy. "Nobody," cried Babœuf, "can have conspired more thoroughly than I. My crime, I am convinced, is common to all Frenchmen, or at least to all virtuous Frenchmen, to all who reject the odious system which makes the opprobrium and exceeding misery of the many a condition of the happiness of the few."

Side by side with these forerunners of modern socialism were writers who were beginning to raise political economy to a science. This branch of study had already yielded brilliant results in the eighteenth century. The Physiocrats, by their bias towards individualism and liberalism, as well as by their appeals to natural right, had exercised a marked influence upon the Revolution; and the Constituent Assembly had even attempted to embody the principal axioms of the school into laws. After the

Empire, however, the theories of the Physiocrats fell into discredit, and were replaced by English ideas, by the teachings of Adam Smith and Ricardo, whose serious works and profound opinions modified the views of Europe.

J. B. Say (*vide* "Treaty of Political Economy," 1803; "Cathechism," 1815) adhered to the ideas of the English school, while arranging them in a much more logical and systematic manner. Just as Lavoisier had done for chemistry, so did Say fix for Political Economy a nomenclature which was eventually adopted by all writers on the subject.

He formulated the theory of "outlets" (*debouchés*) by proving that each nation must pay its own products for those which it acquires, and was resolutely opposed to government intervention and prohibitory tariffs. By his lucid style, his power of generalisation, his energy and personal influence, Say popularised a science which up to his time had only occupied the attention of a few learned persons.

PHILOSOPHY, CRITICISM, HISTORY.

But, while progress was thus manifest in all subjects bearing upon the material improvement of man's condition, the same, as we have already remarked, cannot be said of those branches of speculation whose object is to satisfy the mind.

Philosophy had its sole representative in the narrow empiricism of Condillac.

Literary criticism did not rise above the meagre and coldly classic methods of La Harpe. In thrall to the pedantic judgments of ordinary minds, it was wanting in the spirit of investigation and the wide erudition which alone invest the process with authority and make it lasting and fruitful of results.

History for the most part produced only colourless compilations. But the writings of Bonald, author of a "Theory of Political and Religious Power" (1796), the "Considerations on France" of Joseph de Maistre (1796), and the "Considerations on the Revolution" of Madame de Staël (1818), by their methods of original research, their political acumen and the brilliancy of their style, were the forerunners of the prodigious historical development which was to mark the Restoration.

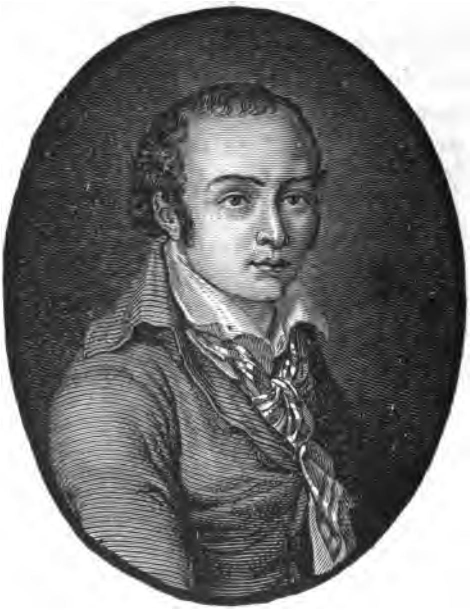
POETRY, FICTION, THE DRAMA.

Novelty was, however, most remarkable in fiction. The Drama was enriched by no work of any importance, while Poetry—contrary to most examples in the history of Letters—gave birth to an independent genius who was neither a product of the moment nor a precursor of the immediate future.

André Chénier, as has often been remarked, was a Greek or Neo-Roman, that is a pagan enamoured of gracious images, of amiable divinities, of smiling landscapes, which appear in his poetry under a pure and perfectly classic form. His fresh song, the melodious utterance of an ardent and noble soul reinvoking a bygone beautiful, happy age, forms a strong contrast to the sombre and tragical events of the Revolution, with its alternations of enthusiasm and terror, and the uncertainty of its social state. To this contrast

Chénier owed his rapid success, and, doubtless also, a portion of his glory.

Marie-Joseph Chénier, although a prominent literary figure in his time, cannot be compared to his poet-brother. He worked chiefly for the theatre, and his pieces, strictly classical in form, are remarkable only for some traits of frigid beauty.



ANDRÉ CHÉNIER.

Truth to tell, the Drama of the period found itself equally embarrassed by the license of the Revolution and the censorship of the Empire.

Beaumarchais in 1792 concluded his celebrated tetralogy by producing "The Guilty Mother," wherein he shows us Almavira astonishingly transformed into a moralist. But the comedy was very inferior to its predecessors, and the unimportant theatre at which it was produced did not contribute to its success. In 1790 and 1792 the author rearranged some scenes of his "Tarare" according to the prevailing taste, but the changes thus made failed to render the philosophical poem either less obscure or more entertaining. An infinite number of tragedies and comedies of all sorts and forms appeared during this period, but the only important incident was the birth of melodrama, destined to achieve a rapid success.

Barely two years before 1789 Fiction had been enriched by the little masterpiece "Paul and Virginia," a graceful idyll, the love story of two children told with human reality and depth of feeling, and set in the dazzling framework of Nature in her tropical mood.

In 1791 Bernardin de St. Pierre published "The Indian Hut," a protest, more witty than convincing, against Science, rendered monotonously fatiguing at last by the glow of descriptive colouring. Neither this work nor its more famous predecessor introduced a new element into literature.

Almost simultaneously Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël published, the first "Atala" (1800) and "Réné" (1802), the second "Corinne" (1802) and "Delphine" (1807), and thus introduced the personal novel for the first time into French fiction. This meant the substitution of the author's own impressions for the rhetorical flights which had hitherto done duty as description.

René was Chateaubriand himself—Chateaubriand with his sore moods, his sickly shrinking from the trivial details of life, his unquiet spirit, his embittered, haughty melancholy, and his dream of an impossible love.

Delphine and Corinne were equally Madame de Staël, with her beautiful arms, her romantic ardour, the irresistible impulses of her heart, her grace, her intelligence, her noble aspirations.

Thanks to the wide and penetrating mind of Madame de Staël, a new world was revealed in Italy and Germany, while to Chateaubriand's eloquent and fervid genius the renascence of the religious spirit must be ascribed. Such works had not only an irresistible effect upon the age which produced them, but exercised a great and lasting influence upon succeeding generations. And since they marked the end of one stage of literary evolution and the beginning of another, their authors are worthy of more than a passing mention.

CHATEAUBRIAND.

Chateaubriand showed in childhood a shy and melancholy disposition, which the influence of his sister Lucile encouraged rather than restrained; and his early youth was marked by a precocious disgust with life and an immeasurable *ennui*. He was, moreover, morbidly proud, and the fame and gratified vanity which were eventually his lot came too late to console him for the humiliations and deceptions of a youth passed in poverty. His unsatisfied soul, absorbed in self-contemplation, found no other solace than to analyse its own sadness and bitterness. Ardent, and passionately attached to beauty in all its forms, he fed the flame of his longing with every means of enjoyment which offered itself, but gave nothing of his own in return. "My mind," he said, "while made to believe in nothing, not even in myself, to despise all things, honours, misery, kings, and peoples, is yet dominated by an instinct of reason which orders it to reverence whatever is admittedly beautiful, such as religion, justice, humanity, liberty, and glory." By obeying this instinct Chateaubriand succeeded in forgetting himself—that is, if to forget oneself means to write works wherein the only standard referred to is oneself.

The beauty of the Christian religion appealed to him all the more that for a century it had been obscured by indifference. To restore full light would be to discover a new form of beauty.

The charms of nature impressed Chateaubriand still more profoundly. He travelled widely, and reproduced in his pages the pathetic and original beauty of Greece and Italy, of Spain, America, and the East. No writer has ever painted more faithfully, yet more poetically, the all-compelling, sombre or gracious spell of the night, the solemnity of primæval forests and prairies, the misty skies of Germany, the sunlight of Italy, the loveliness of Greek mountains or the varied colours of Arab encampments.

The "Genius of Christianity," published on the 18th of April, 1802, a short time after the Concordat, rehabilitated religion in the eyes of good society, which had seen Christianity eclipsed and ridiculed by rationalism. The work was not dogmatic; if it had been so nobody would have read it. The thought embodied in its lines is feeble, feeble also are its arguments, and its metaphysical reasoning is infantile. But it was a prose poem which, by a series of picturesque and pathetic images, awoke all the vague religious feeling that slumbered in the souls of men, and cleverly turned this emotion to the profit of Catholicism by demonstrating to respectable people that they might henceforth profess that creed without fear of ridicule or absurdity.

Such a work was well calculated to influence the age in which it appeared. It unlocked the prison gates of religious aspiration which, gathering strength from previous repression, soared aloft to a position whence it dominated thought for half a century.

Nor was this the only effect produced by the "Genius of Christianity." Æsthetic doctrines were also revived by it. In its vast and confused scheme it found place for all the fertile ideas which were transforming literature. Old rules, narrow, conventional, and vexatious, were abandoned; poetry and art succeeded to rhetoric and ideology; nature in its true grandeur and beauty, and the expression of real emotion replaced descriptions of drawing-room manners and mythological scenes. Henceforth writers turned for inspiration to foreign literature, to the Bible, to Gothicart, to mediævalism and history in general.

"The Natchez" (from which 'Atala" and "Réné" were excerpts), "The Martyrs" (in which must be included "The Itinerary of Paris to Jerusalem"), are two epic romances or prose poems built up on two antitheses, one being the contrast between natural and civilised man, the other the opposition between the Pagan and the Christian world.

René was a type whom these works introduced to the public. "From the beginning of my life," he says, "I have never ceased to nourish sorrow. I bore the germ of it within me as the tree bears the germ of its fruit. An unknown poison penetrated all my sentiments. I pursue a painful dream. . . . Life wearies me. I have ever been consumed by *ennui;* that which interests other men touches me in no way." The character thus described possessed an irresistible attraction for later writers, furnishing them with the psychological elements which they translated into disgust of life, monstrosity of sentiment, and superiority of guilty passion. A greater merit of our author was to reveal its true aim to history by his own success in revivifying the buried past.

As a stylist Chateaubriand restored the breath of life to the French language. He is not a master, it is true; he is unequal, and infected with the bad taste of the time. A large part of "The Martyrs" is pompous, emphatic, insipid, "Empire" in a word. But his real manner, that which belongs to him alone, that which is known as "Chateaubriand's style," is of brilliancy, of harmony and rhythm all compact.

He saw at a glance all that was most characteristic in his subject. He possessed the art of grouping and of framing, and he knew how to make his readers hear all the voices of nature.

His influence in the nineteenth century is immense. Lamartine borrowed from him *ennui*, melancholy, vagueness of soul. Alfred de Vigny owes to him the note of pessimism; Victor Hugo, picturesque description, the epic sense, the use of historical erudition; De Musset, the refinements of a dandified boredom. All the novelists of passion, such as George Sand, Sainte-Beuve, Flaubert; all the Neo-Catholics, Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, to wit; historians like Thierry, Michelet, even Renan, resemble him on some side, and usually this is the description of nature which they have introduced into their romances, their philosophy, their narratives of travel, their erudite researches or their historical works.

MADAME DE STAËL.

If Chateaubriand was chiefly an impressionist Mdme. de Staël was principally a thinker. The first influenced those around him by his style, his descriptions, his artistic conceptions, but the second owed her authority to her ideas, her conversation, her personal magnetism. She was sentimental and romantic like Rousseau, argumentative and worldly like Voltaire. Her intelligence was cosmopolitan and her religious feeling weak. Nevertheless her influence on the thought of the time was as great as Chateaubriand's—an apparent contradiction which a brief analysis of her principal works will suffice to explain.

"Literature, Considered in its Relation to Social Institutions" (1800), is a thesis on the development of human intelligence in all its manifestations. The Romanticists owed to it the following criticism : "The object of literature is no longer to be, as in the eighteenth century, merely the art of writing: it is to be the art of thinking, and the standard of literary greatness will be found in the progress of civilisation." Better still, the work contained the germ of all later developments of criticism: "I propose," said the writer, "to examine the effect upon literature of religion, customs and laws, and the influence upon these of literature."

The seed of all Romantic Drama is contained in "L'Allemagne" (1810). Mdme. de Staël attacks the unities and makes light of rules. "Some declare," she says, "that language was definitely fixed on such a day and such a month, and that the introduction of a new word would now be a barbarism. Others affirm that the rules of the drama were laid down for good in a such or such a year, and that any writer of genius who would now effect a change is to blame for not having been born before that year, wherein all literary discussion, past, present and future, terminated for ever. And in metaphysics, above all, it has been decided that since Condillac one can take no step forward without being lost."

Have we not here an indication of the impending revolution in the French language, the French theatre, and almost in philosophy?

"Considerations on the French Revolution" (1818) is an explanatory apology of the Revolution, of which the tendency is summed up in the following maxim : "All minorities invoke justice, and justice is liberty.

One can only judge a party by the belief which it professes when in power."

The work is too narrow in scope, and limited too exclusively to purely political considerations, as well as being too imbued with the idea that for a people a Constitution is everything. But it is very suggestive, thanks to the multitude of acute remarks which it contains. Guizot profited much by it, and eventually took up the argument, amplified it, and finished it in a manner superior to the original.

Politically, Mdme. de Staël is the mother of parliamentary and dogmatic Liberalism. As historians, Guizot and De Tocqueville felt her influence. Her "Germany" revealed to the world a new form of literary genius, and in the years between 1820 and 1829 promoted a prodigious outburst of translation. Schiller, Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Manzoni, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, and Dante in turn received a French dress. Mdme. de Staël also inspired Lamartine, and suggested to Balzac his researches into the social dramas of the great world.

"Mdme. de Staël and Chateaubriand," writes M. Lanson, "considered themselves to have but little in common. But in reality, although of opposite principles and temperaments, they gave the same impulse to literature. Mdme. de Staël furnished the Romanticists with ideas, theories, and a method of criticism ; Chateaubriand gave them an ideal, desires, and the means of enjoyment. The woman defined where the man realised."

ART.

The orators of the Revolutionary Assembly loved to invoke the heroic examples of the Roman Republic. The dramatists of the same period, with the aim of pleasing a public penetrated with admiration for the civic virtues of Plutarch's Illustrious Men, borrowed from Antiquity the subjects of almost all their tragedies: and similarly artists took the ancient Greeks and Romans for their models.

PAINTING.

The greatest painter of the age, David, had sacrificed largely to the taste of the day, before painting his masterpieces, "The Session of the Tennis Court" and the "Coronation of Napoleon," wherein he represented the spirit of liberty, the noble efforts and attitudes and the grandiose imagination of the Revolution. In his earlier manner are "The Horatii," "Brutus," and "The Death of Socrates"; and he reached the crowning-point in this style when he painted the frigid and mechanical "Rape of the Sabines." He was the head of a school, but his disciples proved either quite different to their master or very inferior to him. The fact is David's merit lay in his personal originality, and that passion for the great and the colossal which led him to design unrealisable monuments and made him a majestic master of the ceremonies during the *fêtes* of the Revolution.

Like Andre Chénier Prud'hon loved Antiquity for its grace. His "Diana," "Psyche," "Love," "Venus and Adonis," "The Spinning Girl," and "The Cotton-winder" have a quiet charm which renders them superior to his too celebrated allegory, "Justice and Vengeance pursuing Crime."

Girodet fell under the influence of the new ideas, and especially in his "Deluge" (1806) and "Burial of Atala" (1808) he is the precursor of the Romantic school.

All the remaining painters consecrate their pencils to the glory of Napoleon. Charles Vernet painted the battles of Marengo (1804), of Austerlitz (1808), of Rivoli (1810), and the Passage of the St. Bernard. To Gerard we owe a remarkable portrait of Napoleon; to Isabey, the "Conference at the Congress of Vienna"; to Gros, the "Plague of Jaffa" (1804), the "Battle of Eylau" (1808), and a portrait of Josephine.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

Architects and sculptors are almost exclusively employed in constructing monuments commemorative of Imperial victories, and here again the models for their works are derived from antiquity.

Chalgrin began the Arch of Triumph at the Barriere de l'Etoile (1809–11); Lepère and Gondouin raised the Vendôme column (1805); Fontaine and Percier constructed the other Arch of Triumph in the Place du Carrousel (1807). The bas-reliefs decorating these monuments were sculptured by Clodion and Bosio, while Brongniart designed the Bourse (1808). All are in Græco-Roman style—that is to say, without originality if not without grandeur.

MUSIC.

In Music also there is but little originality. The enthusiasm of the period finds its echo only in the "Marseillaise" of Rouget de l'Isle, or in those fine lyric outbursts, "Le Vengeur" and "Le Chant du Départ." Concerted music is cold and formal, Méhul's pompous "Joseph" being the best example. In the "Paul and Virginia" (1794) and in the "Bards" (1804) of Lesueur one may discern a beginning of Romanticism, and the same is true of the works of Cherubini. Some pleasing musicians like Dalayrac achieved success in the light style of the Vaudeville.

SCIENCE.

The student of the French Revolution is struck with the rapidity with which that great event was accomplished. Twelve years saw the downfall of old institutions and the reconstitution of society on a new basis. And this same phenomenon, under a more striking form still, appears in the radical transformation of Natural Science. Barely fifteen years sufficed to eradicate all previously-received ideas, to introduce a new conception of matter, to substitute the theory of simple bodies for the antiquated notion of four elements, to reveal the true composition of living beings, and to establish their real relations with their environment.

CHEMISTRY AND PHYSICS.

Lavoisier is the chief promoter of this scientific revolution. To him must be ascribed the conceptions underlying the modern science of Chemistry. His discoveries related to the nature of metals, the composition of acids, of air, of water, the nature of heat, and to combustion, respiration, and animal caloric. And as the new ideas required a new language, the French chemists who gathered round Lavoisier created the nomenclature with which are associated so many discoveries whose influence persists to the present day.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

The new scientific current, combined with the rationalism of the eighteenth century, produced a school of philosophical medicine, adorned by the names of Bichat, Cabanis, Pinel, Broussais, Desault, and Corvisart, most of whom were distinguished writers. Medicine enfranchised itself more and more from empiricism. Anatomy, physiology, therapeutics, and surgery became exact sciences.

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY.

Finally, the same revivifying breath animated the dry bones of mathematics and inspired the most brilliant among the geniuses of whom France may well be proud. Condorcet published his "Calculation of Probabilities," and a work of philosophical tendency entitled "Progress of the Human Mind." Lagrange solved the problem of lateral equations by an analysis of the irreducible, and brought all the processes of the infinitesimal calculus back to the algebraic calculus.

Laplace wrote his immortal work on "Celestial

Mechanism," described the perturbations of the principal planets, reduced all the laws of Mechanis to general principles, and by means of Kepler's laws, which he deduced from observation, he formulated the law of universal gravity.

Monge applied the analytical method to geometry. Delambre measured the meridian (1792-99), and laid the basis of the metrical system (1806-10).

The Institute was founded in 1795. Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity" dates from 1802, and the same year saw the restoration of religious rites. Never was religion exposed to such grave attacks in France as during the years 1789-1802, and never did science register more brilliant or more rapid triumphs.

May we regard this as a simple coincidence, or is the explanation to be found in a relation of cause and effect? That is a problem which the present writer does not pretend to solve here, but which imposes itself on the thinking mind at the conclusion of this first period of our historical survey.

VIII.

THE SECOND RESTORATION.

(*June* 24, 1815—*July* 29, 1830.)

ON the 7th of July, 1815, even before returning to Paris, Louis XVIII. had formed a ministry which, as he conceived, afforded to the revolutionary party such a clear proof of his goodwill that it could not fail to calm the public mind.

It comprised Talleyrand and Fouché, Pasquier and Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, all of whom, by different methods and in different degrees, had distinguished themselves during the Revolution and the Empire. On the 13th a royal decree introduced alterations into the electoral legislation prescribed by the *Acte Additionel.* The number of deputies was nearly doubled, being fixed at 402. The age of electors was changed from thirty to twenty-one, and candidates were declared eligible at twenty-five, instead of, as hitherto, at forty.

The constituency of each *arrondissement* was composed of electors assessed at 300 francs, and the number of candidates whom it sent up was exactly double that of the deputies to be returned. Out of that list the constituency of the department, formed of the most highly-taxed electors, had to choose at least one half of the deputies assessed at 1,000 francs of taxes; but as the number of electors became thus very limited, the Prefects were empowered to add ten persons of their own choice to each constituency of the two sorts.

This decree was simply provisional; one of its clauses, indeed, announced that it was to be submitted for revision to the next Parliament, at the same time as the articles of the Charter concerning the initiative of laws, the mode of renewing the Chamber, &c.

These proposals could not be said to aim at giving a truly national character to the new Government, since not even the middle classes, but only the wealthiest members of the community, were called upon to exercise power. Louis XVIII. hoped by this device to interest those whom the years following the Revolution had enriched in the preservation of his throne; but it did not take him long to perceive that the desired support was not thus to be gained. The parvenus who feared a reaction were, many of them, less concerned to prevent its coming than to shelter themselves from its effects by cringing immoderately to the Court. Just as a number of Jacobins had crowded to the receptions of Napoleon as soon as he became Emperor, so did the majority of holders of national property hasten to proclaim a loyalty to Louis which was all the more effusive because it was of recent date; and they entirely failed to perceive how much their excessive zeal added to the difficulties encountered by the King in carrying out his pacificatory intentions.

And as, by the decree of the 13th of July, the Imperial Chamber had been imprudently dissolved, and a general election ordered, the neophytes were furnished with an ample opportunity of displaying all the fury of their convictions.

The Government itself gave the signal of violence. It replaced all the functionaries who had been dismissed during the Hundred Days; it deposed the peers who had declared their adhesion to the *Acte Additionel;* it tried by court martial, or before the High Court of Justice, the generals who had followed Napoleon, such as Ney, Labedoyère, and others, who were shot before the end of the year; it instituted Provost's Courts for the pursuit and arrest of "suspects," and, in short, established a state of things aptly described as the White Terror, in contradistinction to the Red Terror of 1793.

Naturally, private persons hastened to follow the example of Government. In the provinces, especially in the South, assassinations and massacres disgraced this period, and the trade of the informer flourished as of old.

The general election on the 14th of August, taking place under such vitiated conditions, could only yield results entirely contrary to the hopes of the Government. Liberals either withdrew from the struggle or were swamped by the tide of reaction which had swept over France, and the Chamber was composed almost exclusively of "ultras"—men who hated the Revolution and all that recalled it, who declared themselves almost inimical even to the Charter, who dreamed of nothing but vengeance, repression, and exceptional laws—men, in a word, more royalist than the King himself.

Before the new Chamber met, Louis, urged by those around him, especially by the Count d'Artois, who was reckless in his support of the "ultras," resolved to dismiss the Ministry of the 7th of July, which yet, under the able guidance of Talleyrand, had succeeded on the 2nd of October in signing the preliminaries of peace with the foreign Powers.

Without relinquishing his programme, the King called a Cabinet formed of men like the Duke de Richelieu, formerly an exile and a great friend of the Tsar, Decazes, Barbé-Marbois, and others, whose past could inspire no suspicion in the extreme royalists. By their means, and the support, if necessary, of the peers, among whom reasonable councils prevailed, Louis hoped to be able to impose his ideas on the Chamber of Deputies.

The new Cabinet, constituted on the 24th of September, 1815, was carried along at first by the current of the hour. One law against seditious utterances (November 9) empowered the tribunals to deal with the smallest chance remarks of citizens; two others, dated 29th of October and 20th of December respectively, handed over to the arbitrary action of Government all persons suspected of entertaining hostile sentiments towards the Restoration; a third (January 12, 1816), ironically described as a law of amnesty, decreed perpetual banishment against the members of the National Convention who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and ordered the exile of the Bonaparte princes.

These measures distinctly violated the King's promises and the articles of the Charter, but it was necessary to concede something to the prevailing humour of Parliament in order not to precipitate a conflict. And eventually the conflict broke out all the same. Not content with obstructing in every way the vote on the Budget—a measure already rendered very critical by the estimates for home and foreign expenditure—the Chamber demanded the reinstatement of the clergy in their former rights of civil registration, and the restitution to the Church of all property which had not yet been sold, besides a grant of forty-one millions annually to be applied as the clergy might think fit, as compensation for the lands which had passed to other owners. The reactionary party did not succeed in obtaining more than the abrogation of the Law of Divorce (May 8), and the concession to religious of the right to teach in public schools (February 29); but there was no mistake as to their intentions. They were bent upon destroying, bit by bit, the entire work of the Revolution, and felt themselves sufficiently sustained by excited public opinion to propose an extension of the suffrage by which the electoral qualification was lowered to fifty francs.

Louis XVIII. was alarmed at such audacity. Feeling that the Government was hastening to the brink of a precipice, he took the advice proffered by Decazes, and published the Decree of the 5th of September, 1816, in virtue of which the Chamber was dissolved, the number of deputies reduced to 259, and the eligible age fixed at forty years. The Decree was of doubtful legality, electoral legislation being one of the functions of Parliament; but its justification lay in the exceptional gravity of the moment.

The Extreme Right received the measure with opprobrium, but the Extreme Left,[1] recognising the importance of saving its dearest ideals, abstained from presenting candidates of its own and supported those whom the Ministry favoured.

In the General Election held on the 4th of October, the "ultras" proved to be in a minority, and the Cabinet obtained a preponderance of votes among the dynastic Liberals, who, led by Decazes and Lainé, and aided by Jordan, Courvoisier, Royer-Collard, De Serre, De Broglie, &c., were intent upon trying to establish Parliamentary government in France.

From this time dates what has been aptly called the Government of the Centre. With rare and passing exceptions, the Parliamentary system in France has never followed the English model—that is to say, the country has never been governed alternately by two disciplined and co-ordinate parties. In the French Chamber there have always been two wings differing profoundly in principle, who, if they occasionally unite in a vote of opposition, are yet incapable of forming a majority, either separately, or by an understanding which their mutual repulsions renders illusory. Between these two extremes is a floating mass of deputies who incline first to one side and then to another, according to the opinion which momentarily prevails, who never, or almost never, succeed in giving stability to a Ministry, but nevertheless, in spite of the excesses of the two extremes, impose on the country at large a sufficiently moderate and liberal policy, and thus avoid the perils incident on sudden change.

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[1] Parties in France do not exchange places in Parliament when there is a change of Ministry. Conservatives and Reactionaries sit always on the right of the President, the Liberals and Radicals on the left; hence the expressions, "Right" and "Left" which serve permanently to designate the two parties.

This system, under forms of government not always identical, has prevailed on the whole from its inception until the present time; but it has never yielded such brilliant results as in its early years, from 1816 to 1820, when the men who had founded it and the questions which they discussed were alike memorable and important.

The work of the new Government consisted in five great enterprises, which were brought to a successful issue. These were: the financial rehabilitation of France, with the consequent withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory; the abrogation of the exceptional laws voted by the reactionaries in 1815; the electoral law of the 5th of February, 1817, which deprived the great landowners of a portion of their influence by suppressing the two degrees of suffrage and including all voters taxed at 300 francs in a single constituency for each department; the law of the 18th of March, 1818, in virtue of which for many years the French army was recruited by an annual drawing of lots within the limits of the contingent fixed by law, and conscripts who had drawn a low number were enabled to buy themselves substitutes; finally the law, or rather three laws, of the 17th of May, 26th of May, and 9th of June, 1819, on the Press, by which newspapers, while dispensed from the necessity of obtaining an administrative license, were forced to deposit a security for the execution of any sentence which a jury might pronounce against them.

These various measures were not carried without difficulty. Every year the partial renewal of one-fifth of the deputies obliged the Government to reconstitute its majority, and to increase or diminish its infusion of liberalism in accordance with the fluctuations of public opinion and the composition of the Chamber. The Left accused it of temporising, of showing insufficient confidence in the benefits of liberty, of too much harshness towards the exiles of 1815, and even of unjustifiable leniency towards the encroachments of the Catholic clergy. The Right could not forgive the Decree, or, as it preferred to say, the *coup-d'état* of the 5th of September, 1816, and being for the moment in opposition, it found fault with the electoral law for narrowness, and with the press law for unnecessary rigour.

A first change in the Ministry became necessary in December, 1818. The Duke de Richelieu resigned, leaving to Decazes and General Dessoles the task of forming a cabinet with inclinations towards the Left.

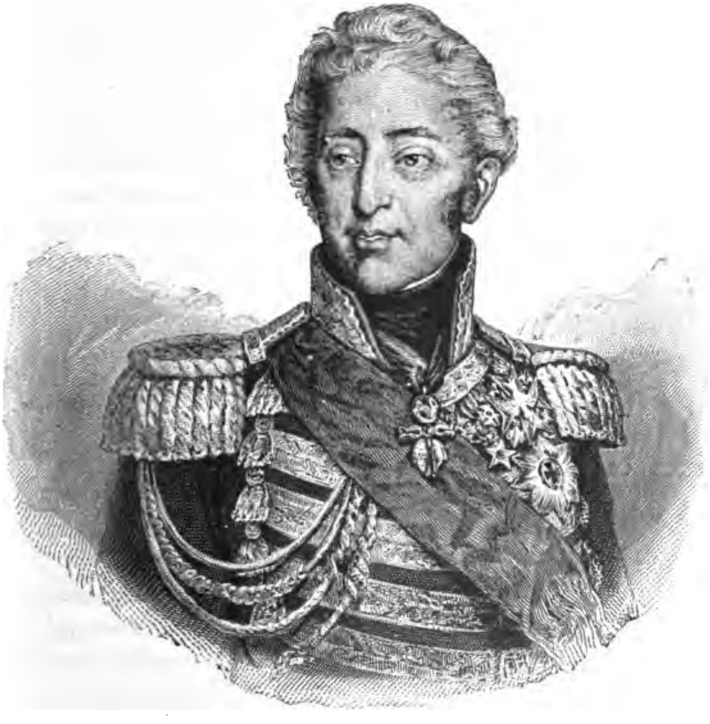
But in the elections of 1819 the Left won numerous seats, and when, in consequence of this, various Imperialist generals, such as Foy, Lamarque, and Sebastiani, together with former members of the

Convention like Grégoire, returned upon the scene, the Centre took alarm, and began to gravitate towards the Right.

The assassination of the Duke de Berry on the night of the 13th–14th of February, 1820, raised a panic, and Richelieu returned to power on the 21st of the same month, while the services of Decazes were dispensed with.

Determined now to govern with the support of the Right against the Left, the Duke overturned with his own hands the Liberal edifice raised during the preceding years. Fresh measures were taken against "suspects," censure and preliminary authorisation restored with regard to the Press, and modifications introduced into the electoral law by a measure passed on the 29th of June. This consisted in depriving a large number of manufacturers and tradesmen of their votes by forming at least one-half of the electoral qualification out of the tax on real estate, and in decreeing that the more heavily-taxed electors of each department should vote in the arrondissement with the holders of the 300 franc franchise for the return of 172 deputies, and in the departmental constituency (formed of themselves alone) for the election of the remaining 258, thus giving political preponderance to the large landowners.

These various measures, and especially the last (known as the Law of the Double Vote), exasperated the Left, which went so far as to preach recourse to violence, and even to assist in certain military conspiracies and plots against the life of the King, all discovered in time, but very agitating nevertheless to public opinion. The Duke de Richelieu counted on the support of the Right; some of whose representatives, such as Villèle, Corbière, &c., had posts in the Ministry. But these very men were secretly in league with the Count d'Artois, whose approaching accession was rendered ever more probable by the feeble health of the King, and disapproving of the comparative moderation of the Premier, they did not hesitate to



CHARLES X.

ally themselves with the Left in order to overturn him.

Richelieu retired on the 12th of December, 1821, and was succeeded three days later by Villèle, who chose for his colleagues such uncompromising reactionaries as Corbière, Mathieu de Montmorency, de Peyronnet, &c.

Villèle was endowed with the common sense of a good man of business, free from dogmatic prejudices, but he lacked the necessary force of character for resisting the demands of his party. His Government, which survived Louis XVIII. and lasted until 1827 under Charles X. (formerly Count d'Artois, who succeeded to the throne on the 16th of September, 1824), was one long series of proceedings against Liberalism and the social legislation of the Revolution. Two measures, dated respectively the 17th and 25th of March, 1822, confirmed the law of Preliminary Authorisation in respect to the Press, and removing the cognizance of offences committed by newspapers from juries, handed them over to the Correctional Tribunals.

The suppression of the High Normal School, as well as of the chairs of distinguished historians and philosophers like Guizot, Victor Cousin, Jouffroy, and Dubois, filled the learned world with alarm as proving that public instruction was about to fall under the predominating influence of the clergy.

The Spanish war undertaken in 1823 in order to protect Ferdinand VII. against his subjects, who wished for a Constitution and political reforms, was repugnant to the majority of Liberals.

A legend grew up round the Revolution, now that the impression of the Terror had faded, and round Napoleon now that he died in St. Helena on the 5th of May, 1821. It became the fashion to say that the French army had formerly overrun Europe in order to propagate liberty, and that it was consequently very badly employed in keeping despotic princes upon their thrones.

The parliamentary Left, reduced to a small number of deputies, and unable to wring any concessions from Government, took refuge more and more in illegal measures, which carried away even those who openly censured them like Royer-Collard, or condemned them in silence like General Foy and Casimir Périer. In three years, from 1821 to 1824, there were no less than eight conspiracies in which civilians and military men were alike compromised. Nineteen persons were condemned and eleven executed. Villèle faced the position with remarkable energy, repressing rebellion on the one hand, while taking measures to ensure victory in Spain on the other. (Storming of the Trocadero, near Cadiz, on the 30th of August, 1823.) Believing himself master of the situation, he took advantage of these successes to dissolve the Chamber and issue writs for a General Election; but this step ruined both its originator and the Restoration itself.

The returns of the 25th of February, 1824, although recklessly manipulated, reduced the number of Liberal deputies to twenty, and Villèle thus found himself at the mercy of a Chamber as intolerant and violent as that of 1815. He crowned his imprudence by abolishing the system of partial renewal which, by frequent periodical elections, would have enabled him to moderate the excessive ardour of his majority. A law dated 9th of June, 1824, decreed that the new Chamber should last seven years, to be entirely reconstructed at the expiration of this term. There followed on this an incredible series of attacks upon the spirit of modern France. In 1825 the Five per Cents. were converted into Three per Cents., and the thirty millions thus saved were inscribed on the *Grand Livre* in favour of the exiles whose property had been confiscated during the Revolution. This step was resented by the holders of the old Five per Cents., and revived the smouldering hatred against the men who had served in foreign armies against France.

The same year a law passed on the 24th of May to legalise the existence of nunneries, while on the 20th of the previous month another decree, called the Sacrilege Act, had declared thefts and profanations in churches to be punishable by death.

In 1826 the Government proposed to re-establish the law of primogeniture in cases of intestacy and for that portion of patrimony which the Code left at disposal of the owner.[1]

All the resolution of the Chamber of Peers, which on this occasion as on many others showed itself infinitely more reasonable and moderate than the

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[1] According to French law a father can only dispose of a portion of his property equal in amount to the share of one child. But if he has more than three children he can leave one-fourth of his property as he may choose. This was the portion which the law of 1826 sought to assure to the eldest son in cases of intestacy.

Lower House or the Government, was necessary to repel this attack, and to limit the project to a revival of entails, but only for two generations, in favour of the children of a legator or donor (law of the 17th of May, 1826, abolished on the 7th of May, 1849).

In 1827 a new Bill, ironically described as a "Law of Justice and Love," was introduced to fetter still further the liberty, already so curtailed, of the Press, by submitting each number of a journal and each volume of a book to the Censor before publication; but this measure, although it passed the Chamber of Deputies, was resolutely thrown out by the Peers. In short, each session of Parliament was marked by a new effort, usually successful, at unmitigated reaction.

Neither Villèle nor the cause of the Royalists gained in general estimation through all these events.

The students submitted with scanty patience to the yoke imposed upon them by the teaching in the schools, while the middle classes were uneasy at the various assaults upon their interests, and shared the alarm of the mass of the population at the revival of the hated aristocratic and clerical spirit.

Some good can be attributed to this period, as, for instance, the reorganisation of the public finances, and the Code of Forestry dated 1827; but these benefits were outweighed by the arrogance of the "ultras" and the growing pretensions of the clergy, who were now completely dominated by the Jesuits. Demonstrations which were almost riots broke out constantly in the streets of Paris, the burial of the smallest celebrity furnisning a sufficient pretext. Villèle was not only attacked by the Left, but also by some uncompromising Royalists, who accused him of not having known how to checkmate the opposition of the Upper Chamber, in spite of the new creations by which he had hoped to obtain a majority; and there were still other men, like Chateaubriand, whose vanity he had managed to wound in the course of his long tenure of power. Nevertheless he still believed in the possibility of restoring his impaired credit. On the 6th of November, 1827, he induced the King to pronounce the dissolution of the Lower Chamber, and exhausted every means of obtaining a faithful majority in the elections. But his efforts were vain. Only one hundred and eighty of his supporters were returned, the rest being one hundred and eighty Liberals of different shades and sixty "ultras." On the 5th of January, 1828, Villèle resigned. As the ministers were taking leave of the King, one of them, Clermont-Tonnerre, said to Charles X., "I entreat of your Majesty not to forget that our Ministry was the most royalist which the country will ever accept." But this was a lesson which the monarch was incapable of understanding or remembering.

A Cabinet formed out of the Right, but with Liberal tendencies, and composed of Martignac, De la Ferronays, Portalis, Roy, and De Vatimesnil, hastened to restore their chairs to Guizot and Cousin, to abolish Press Censorship (Law of the 18th July, 1828), and even to forbid the Jesuits to teach in ecclesiastical seminaries, as well as to limit the number of pupils admitted to these establishments (16th of June, 1828).

But the Ministers had not the confidence of the King (whose friends were constantly advocating a *coup d'état*), and found themselves, moreover, in a very precarious position in Parliament, where they failed to satisfy the "ultras" or to obtain the support of the Left, now growing daily in influence, thanks to discipline, cohesion, and apparent moderation.

Martignac had not sufficient authority to impose his policy on the King, nor sufficient determination to obtain a majority on one side or the other of the Chamber.

Defeated in April, 1829, by a coalition of the Left and Extreme Right on a point of order, and feeling himself mistrusted both by the Sovereign and the Chamber, he resigned in August after the voting on the Budget.

Charles had only been waiting for an opportunity to form a Cabinet after his own heart, such as he had dreamed of during his exile, but such as he had never seen since 1814.

The mystic and ignorant Polignac, Bourmont, a former *émigré*, who had betrayed Napoleon at Waterloo, and La Bourdonnaye, one of the most obstinate of the reactionaries of 1815, formed the principal ornaments of this Ministry (August 8, 1829), a Ministry which, as the King hoped, would be highly combative, but which counted not a single man of action among its members, nor any unity of views.

Nobody failed to perceive the real significance of such a Cabinet. The Extreme Right talked openly of dissolving the Chamber and suppressing the Charter, while the Left prepared energetically to resist the impending attack, and even the most moderate journals warned the King that he would be wise not to seek adventures. But Charles only listened to his evil councillors. He opened the Session of the 2nd of March, 1830, by a threatening speech, to which the two Chambers replied, the Upper by affirming the necessity of ensuring unity of action between the King and the people, and the Lower maintaining that such unity was impossible as long as there existed a Ministry whose fundamental principle was an " unwarrantable distrust of France."

The King's answer was not long in coming. The Chamber was prorogued on the 19th of March and dissolved on the 16th of May, while the elections were fixed for the 23rd of June. Charles addressed a manifesto to the constituencies, in which he spoke of attacks made upon his royal prerogative. The answer of the electors was to return 274 Liberals out of 428 deputies.

But even yet a very little effort would have sufficed to avert an acute crisis. The majority of the Left were but little inclined to face the perils of a revolution, and if, after the result of the elections was known, the King had consented to form another Ministry, in all probability a compromise would have been reached. But Charles believed himself to have a mission from God ; he wished to save religion and royalty, and could not see that he was compromising the one and ruining the other.

And just at this moment the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Algiers by a fleet which had been sent to avenge an insult offered to the French Consul by the Dey.

These tidings, following so soon on the joint action of France, Great Britain, and Russia to bestow freedom on Greece (naval combat of Navarino, October 20, 1827), intoxicated Charles with a prospect of military glory. He thought that nothing could be denied to him ; and without even waiting for the Chamber to meet, on the 25th of July he signed a series of decrees which were so many acts of defiance to his adversaries, even to the most moderate among them.

Fortifying himself, although very erroneously, with Art. 14 of the Charter (see above, p. 114), he suspended the law of 1828 and thus restored the Censorship of the Press ; he declared the Chamber dissolved, and ordered the Prefects to draw up new electoral registers which should contain only the names of those paying 300 francs of taxes levied entirely on real estate. And the preamble of these decrees expressly stated that their object was to oppose resistance to "the turbulent democracy which has invaded even our laws and tends to displace legitimate power."

There was not the shadow of any democracy in the limited franchise of the institutions which had been established after the Restoration ; therefore the decrees of the 25th of July were essentially absolute in tendency. No sooner were they grasped by the people of Paris than revolt followed on stupor and insurrection on revolt. Three days of battle, first in the Press and then in the street, sufficed to defeat the King. A tardy change of Ministry and the revocation of the decrees did not avail to save his dynasty. He fled to Rambouillet, then later to England, and France was relieved without much difficulty of the last of her Bourbon kings.

IX.

THE JULY MONARCHY.

(*July* 30, 1830—*February* 23, 1848.)

THE leaders of the Parliamentary Opposition were greatly embarrassed by the rapid success of the Three Days—the "Three Glorious Days'" Revolution.

If Republican ideas inspired some classes in Paris, they were far from having penetrated to the provinces or pervaded any departments of the Government. Also there was but little disposition to accept the abdication of Charles X. in favour of his grandson the Duke de Bordeaux, later known as Count de Chambord, who was still a minor. A new experience of Divine Right, complicated by a Regency, was not an attractive prospect.

Presently arose the idea of seeking a king in the younger branch of the Bourbons. Like all junior members of a reigning house, Louis-Philippe, Duke d'Orleans, had Liberal pretensions which inspired some confidence in those who knew him, and he had already been thought of as a candidate to the throne in 1815, at the time of the Second Restoration.

Now, in 1830, the crown was offered to him, but on conditions which it was hoped would prevent the renewal of the difficulties which the country had encountered with the elder branch.

The Charter, known as that of the 9th of August, 1830, which Louis-Philippe took an oath to obey, was drawn up in a few days, not to say hours, by a Parliamentary Commission composed of Villemain, Benjamin Constant, General Sebastiani, Dupin &c., and hastily voted by the two Chambers.

The new document was merely an attenuated edition of the Charter of 1814, all clauses in the latter which had offended national sentiment or provoked hostility being simply suppressed.

The preamble disappeared because it contained an affirmation of Divine Right, and was replaced by a declaration on the model of that made by England in 1688, to the effect that the throne was vacant and a sovereign had been elected by the people to fill it. The tricolour flag was once more hoisted. Catholicism ceased to be described as the "State Religion"—since the State could have no special religion—but to avoid wounding any susceptibilities the Roman Faith was proclaimed to be that "of the majority of the French people."

The National Guard, disbanded under Villèle, was reconstituted and given the right of electing its own officers.

Preliminary censorship was removed from the Press, and a law for liberty of public instruction was promised, although never decreed.

In the matter of administrative organisation the Charter of 1830 presented few novelties. Both

Chambers, together with the Executive, were to initiate laws. Thirty was fixed as the age at which deputies might be elected, and twenty-five for the franchise. The constitution of the Upper Chamber and the money qualification for the franchise were to form subjects of special legislation, and, as a point of fact, were considered the following year.

The Elections Act, dated 19th of April, 1831, suppressed the privilege of a double vote, and divided the constituencies in such a way that each should henceforward elect only one deputy instead of voting as hitherto for all the deputies from one department. The number of eligible deputies was tripled by fixing the qualification at 500 francs, and the number of electors doubled by lowering the franchise to 200 francs for ordinary persons and by conferring it on all retired officers and members of the Institute who paid 100 francs of taxes.[1]

The Peers Act (December 29, 1831) occasioned an admirable debate in the Lower Chamber. In vain Royer-Collard, Guizot, and Thiers defended the principle of heredity as favourable to the independence and authority of the Upper Chamber, for the great majority of the Assembly and the King himself, whose disposition was jealous and narrow, were determined to allow none but life peerages. Finally it was decided that the sovereign should select the peers from among the higher civil and military functionaries who had served a specific number of years, and such property-holders or manufacturers as for three or five years, according to circumstances, had paid at least 3,000 francs a year in taxes. Neither the members of the Upper Chamber nor those of the Lower were to receive salaries or gratuities. Such was the Act. It annihilated the political power of the Upper Chamber, and thirty-six creations were necessary before it could be passed.

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[1] It should be noted that the "professional franchise," the refusal to accord which occasioned the Revolution of 1848, was demanded by the Government of 1830. The proposal was to confer the franchise on men who, without being rich, possessed a certain social position, such as judges, barristers, solicitors, &c. The Left rejected the innovation out of distrust of judges, whom it regarded as reactionary, and the Right followed suit because it feared the Liberalism of barristers. As to the pure Legitimists they, believing the country to be with them, and supported by Berryer, demanded universal suffrage in two degrees.

The Revolution of 1830 was more important than may appear on a superficial examination. It finally eliminated from the Constitution all lingering trace of Divine Right and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people.

"The principle of the Revolution of July, as of the Government derived from it, is not insurrection," said Casimir Périer to the Chamber a few weeks later. "It is resistance to the aggressions of authority. France was challenged and defied. She defended herself, and her victory is the victory of Rights which had been unworthily outraged."

No description could have been more exact, both as to practice and principle. The character of the Revolution emerges clearly from the choice made of a new Prince by the people's representatives, as well as from the terms of the agreement which that Prince signed before his accession. He was to reign no longer by anterior and superior right, but because he had accepted the conditions to which the exercise of his power was subordinated by law.

But royalty was weakened by the ordeal through which it had passed. It had been conclusively proved that the throne might easily be induced to capitulate, and consequently could no longer be regarded as a force, whether for equilibrium or for restraint. Instability caused loss of strength, and it was easy to foresee that the ground gained at the expense of their rulers by the people must inevitably increase in extent.

A wise policy, prescient of the coming evolution, would have facilitated the transition from the present to the future by educating the masses progressively through a gradual extension of the suffrage, and thus preparing for the inevitable dawn of democracy; but what happened was exactly the contrary. Louis-Philippe and his advisers were more bent upon repairing the damages of authority than upon assisting the political and social transformation to which the Revolution of July had been a first step.

After eighteen years of the new government the electorate had not advanced one degree from the point where the law of 1831 had placed it; and every outlet of reform had been arbitrarily closed. The electorate was barely larger now than at the Restoration. In 1831 there had been 166,000 electors; in 1848 the number had risen only to 240,000. Moreover, representation was so badly distributed that one deputy sometimes sat for 150 electors, 25,000 inhabitants, and 440,000 francs of revenue, as against 3,000 electors, 226,000 inhabitants, and 2,200,000 francs in another place.

There was consequently an extremely restricted franchise, and even within these narrow limits a flagrant inequality in the distribution of seats. And, as if this were not enough, there was no payment of deputies, and the electoral qualification excluded all but the richer candidates. Among these many were Government functionaries, of whom the number rose from 139 at the beginning of the reign to 200 at the end, in a Chamber composed of but 459 in all, and it was natural that such men should be exposed to the suspicion of subserviency to the Executive.

There was, in short, ample justification for the famous Reform petition presented in 1847, which said: "The Nation cannot find in the existing electorate either a precise expression, a faithful image, or a sincere representation of its opinions, its interests, or its rights."

The law of 1831 also transformed the Upper Chamber into a mere assembly of functionaries without traditions and without credit, incapable of taking root in the country where it had no guarantee of permanency, and where it personified no lasting interests. Such an institution could but play anew the humble part of a Napoleonic Senate, the energy to emulate the brilliant example of the Peers of the Restoration being denied to it; and, placed between a weakened form of Royalty on the one hand, and a restricted Lower Chamber, intriguing or servile in temper, on the other, it was ill-equipped for the task of guiding the political movement of a population which had so lately tasted the joys and the triumphs of insurrection.

Louis-Philippe and his followers, however, like Bonaparte after the 18th Brumaire, believed that revolutionary principles had been exhausted by the Charter of 1830, and that henceforward it would be merely necessary, as they were fond of saying, "to restrain the Revolution so that it might be fruitful, and so that it might not be wasted."

This delusion was fostered in them by the hostility which the Revolution of July had excited in Europe, where the Legitimist dynasties were alarmed at the events of Paris and the echo they had aroused in other countries, especially in Belgium.[1]

But the leaders of the revolt against the Restoration were not unanimous in their views, and if some were willing to join the Court in applauding resistance to progress, others on the other hand were anxious to join the forward movement.

The occasion would have been a great one for France to make acquaintance at last with the division of parties into Liberals and Conservatives, if unfortunately each one of the fallen governments had not left a legacy of irreconcilable adherents. After the dissolution of the Chamber, and the general elections consequent on the law of 1831, it was found that there were no less than five parliamentary parties; that is, a few Republicans led by Garnier-Pagès, a dynastic Left under Odilon Barrot, a Left and a Right Centre wherein Thiers and Guizot respectively asserted their authority, and a little Legitimist phalanx faithful to the old rulers and inspired by the illustrious Berryer.

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[1] On learning the Revolution of July, the Belgians had taken arms to shake off the yoke of Holland to which the Peace of 1815 had united them. Belgium obtained its independence, but the Powers prevented her choosing a Prince from among the members of the new Royal Family in France; and to guard against French intervention the country was made neutral under the joint protection of Europe.

Out of this broken parliamentary mass many Ministries were born and perished, each one seeking to capture a majority which was ephemeral and elusive when found, until the moment in 1840 when, after hesitating for long between progress and reaction, after yielding one day to resist the next, the July Monarchy was crystallised, so to speak, into the Ministry of Guizot, who, during the seven years that his power lasted, conducted it gently to its fall.

Louis-Philippe's first Ministry (11th of August, 1830) was presided over by Dupont (de l'Eure), and composed partly of Progressives and partly of Conservatives. It made many changes among officials, abrogated the law of sacrilege, recalled the regicides banished in 1816, and once more referred Press offences to a jury. It was succeeded, on the 2nd of November, by the Laffitte Cabinet, consisting largely of Liberals, and which signalised its Liberalism by the reactionary law of the 10th of December, forbidding advertisements of political writings.

A few days later the members of the last Ministry of Charles X., the men who signed the July Ordinances, were accused by the Lower Chamber, and condemned by the Upper to perpetual imprisonment. But this sentence did not appease popular passion. Hatred of the Bourbons and of the clergy broke out in repeated demonstrations in Paris, Lille, Dijon, and other places.

Having failed to restore order, and being abandoned by many of his followers, among others by General Lafayette, who gave up the command of the National Guard and inaugurated a policy of opposition strongly tinged with Republicanism, Laffitte resigned, and was replaced by Casimir Périer.

Périer combined great energy with a curious mixture of arbitrariness and Liberalism. In a few days he succeeded in stamping his administration with the only qualities worthy of the name of government, and by the vigour of his rule he restored public confidence. He came into power on the 13th of March, 1831, and on the 21st he promulgated a law of municipal organisation which, while leaving the nomination of mayors as heretofore to the Executive, deprived this of the power to name the members of the Municipal Councils—once elective bodies, but which since the Year VIII. had ceased to be so. On the 10th of April another law empowered the Government to disperse popular assemblies by force after three ineffectual summonses. The contrast between these two measures sums up Périer's character.

His promptitude of action displayed itself equally in all directions. He sent reinforcements to the Belgians, who had risen against the Dutch, and occupied Ancona so as to force Austria to evacuate the Legations. He restored order to French finances; energetically repressed the insurrection of Lyons (November, 1831) and the riots of Grenoble (March, 1832); replied to a Legitimist movement in Vendée by forbidding the Bourbons to set foot in France (Decree of the 10th of April, 1832), and handed over impartially to the law the republicans and the reactionaries who conspired against the July Monarchy.

Périer died suddenly of cholera (on the 16th of May, 1832), one of the many victims of that terrible epidemic, and his Cabinet deprived of his guidance was too feeble for the situation it had to face. The insurrection was spreading in Vendée, and lasted, in point of fact, until the end of November. In the month of June, in Paris, a Republican rising fomented by Legitimist and Bonapartist agents had to be repressed with bloodshed; while in Belgium the struggle with Holland still continued.

The Conservatives and Moderate Liberals alike perceived that a serious effort must be made to fill the place of Périer. On the 11th of October a strong Cabinet was formed, under the Premiership of Marshal Soult, and including Thiers, Guizot, and the Duke de Broglie, which continued the policy at once authoritative and liberal inaugurated by their predecessor.

A law of the 22nd of June, 1833, extended to the Councils-General of Departments the elective form of administration granted in 1831 to the municipalities. An Act dated the 28th of June created a system of primary instruction, up to that time much neglected in France, by obliging every commune to maintain at least one school for boys. Elementary instruction, however, was not rendered obligatory, nor was any system of gratuities provided for it. The clergy of all denominations recognised by the

State were accorded a share in the direction and superintendence of schools.

These were Liberal measures, but an opposite tendency inspired the Act of the 16th of February, 1834, which sought to hinder the distribution of revolutionary pamphlets by obliging hawkers to obtain a Government licence ; and this was equally the case with another law of the 10th of April, which, improving on the Penal Code of the Empire whereby associations of more than twenty persons were forbidden, decreed severe punishments against all secret or public societies consisting of groups of less than twenty persons corresponding with one another.

Replying to the furious attacks of the Left, who denounced this last-named measure as being a flagrant violation of the Charter, Guizot said that the Act was an exceptional one necessitated by the dangers of the moment, and especially by the existence of the association known under the name of Rights of Man, which numbered 162 sections in Paris and 300 in the Departments. This argument proved so convincing that the Act passed, and now, sixty years later, it is still unrepealed.

In spite of all efforts, the situation of affairs grew worse. In April, 1834, a Republican insurrection provoked by this very law on associations took place in Lyons, and was followed by similar risings in Marseilles, St. Etienne, and finally in Paris, where more than usual severity had to be applied in repression. The Cabinet thought it a wise step to dissolve the Chamber, but the new one returned by the constituencies was more divided against itself than ever. In the Ministry there were dissensions which, between March and November, led to no less than four changes of composition.

The party of resistance, as it was then called, gained ground each day, until even Thiers broke away from it, in spite of his early Liberalism, and on the 12th of March, 1835, consented to remain in the Ministry which had now been remodelled for the fifth time under the Duke de Broglie.

The trial of the insurgents of the previous April lasted for nine months before the Upper Chamber, and in the teeth of numerous condemnations conspiracies and outrages went merrily on.

Fieschi's infernal machine which was destined to assassinate the King, but killed instead of him various members of his suite (July 28, 1835), finally brought the Government to adopt the reactionary measures known as the "Laws of September."

These laws, passed on the 9th of September, 1835, inflicted once more on France all the severities practised by Napoleon and the Bourbons.

The Upper Chamber became a court of justice, not simply, as the Charter laid down, for the trial of attempts against the safety of the State, but for a number of offences variously and vaguely described as provocations to revolt against institutions, offences against the person of the King, and even theoretical attacks upon the prevailing form of government. The Press, in all other cases than those detailed above, remained under the jurisdiction of juries, but the procedure to which it was exposed became more summary and more severe, a simple majority[1] on the jury sufficing to procure convictions; and the censorship was enlarged so as to include theatrical representations and the publication of engravings, drawings, and emblems.

These measures were opposed to the traditions of Liberalism even more through their tendencies than their provisions, and the moral blot which they inflicted on the July Monarchy far outweighed their benefits. The press found a way of substituting insinuations for overt attack; judicial proceedings and harsh repression did not avail to prevent repeated attacks on the life of the King (there were two in the course of 1836), and revolutionary republicans like Blanqui and Barbès easily found members for their secret societies.

Warned by some symptoms of lassitude in the majority of the Chamber, Thiers began to think that it might be wise, after leaning so long on the Right, to turn now a little towards the Left. In the Cabinet formed on the 22nd of February, 1836, of which he was Premier, he eliminated the "doctrinaires" of the Right Centre—such as Broglie and Guizot, and admitted some members of the Third Party who were more disposed to conciliate the Liberals. The new Ministry had no definite programme, and showed itself incapable even of carrying such a measure as the Conversion of the Rentes, which the state of the money market rendered urgent, if the true interests of the Treasury were to be consulted; but which the King and his followers could not make up their minds, until the end of the reign, to sanction, for fear of alienating the electorate. During the parliamentary recess the dissensions between Thiers and Louis-Philippe increased. The former wished to intervene in Spain in order to protect Queen Isabella against the Carlists, and pursue a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Restoration in 1823; but, rather than yield, the King accepted the resignation of Thiers without waiting for a vote of the Chambers, and this act of arbitrary authority gave rise to endless attacks upon royalty which lasted, with ever growing asperity, until 1848.

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[1] Since 1831 seven votes out of twelve had been necessary.

The Third Party was easily persuaded to fill up the ministerial vacancy thus created by the will of the King. On the 6th of September Molé formed a first Cabinet with the assistance of the doctrinaires, and on the 15th of April he constituted a second Ministry from which the doctrinaires were excluded, but in which no change but this personal one was apparent. Molé was hardly installed before Prince Louis Napoleon, nephew of the First Emperor and destined himself to be the Second, thought the moment favourable for reviving the Bonapartist agitation, and appeared suddenly at Strasburg, where he had adherents among the civil and military population. A few hours saw the end of this ridiculous venture (October 30, 1836), which the Government considered so unimportant that it contented itself with exiling the Prince to the United States, while placing his accomplices on their trial. The affair took a somewhat different complexion when the jury acquitted these prisoners, thus betraying, to say the least, some sympathy with their offence; but the Molé Cabinet enjoyed so little influence in the Chamber, that even this verdict could not enable it to obtain assent to the new measures of repression for which it asked.

Molé, however, contrived to maintain his position until the spring of 1839, thanks to the support of the King, who twice, in November, 1837, and March, 1839, allowed him to dissolve the Chamber, the country, no longer able to understand the complications of parliamentary policy, on both occasions returning a majority committed to no definite opinion whatever.

Molé was the author of some important Acts, notably, in 1837 and 1838, those relating to the administration of the communes and departments where, in spite of some ameliorations in detail, the principal decisions of the local councils remained dependent on the assent of the central executive. In 1838 other measures followed bearing on the powers of Tribunals of First Instance and Justices of the Peace (*Juges de Paix*), on commercial failures and bankruptcies, and on asylums for the insane. But each time that a particular policy was in question Molé remained without authority in the Chamber, for the double reason that he followed from day to day a haphazard line of action, and that he had arrayed against him all the most eminent men, such as Thiers and Guizot, who, although now rivals, united in attacking the common foe; and a coalition which they eventually formed, for the moment, with the wings of the Right and the Left succeeded on the 8th of March, 1839, in overthrowing Molé altogether.

Such a coalition, however, is often more potent to destroy than to create, and so it was in this instance.

The ministerial crisis lasted a long while. A heterogeneous Cabinet with little to distinguish it was formed on the 31st of March for the simple despatch of public business, and gave place on the 12th of May to a Ministry presided over by Marshal Soult, but also composed of secondary representatives of the Right and the Left. And yet the situation was one of gravity.

The Egyptian Question was a source of alarming rivalry between France and England, for while the latter, although recognising Mehemet-Ali as hereditary ruler of Egypt, was unwilling to invest him otherwise than partially and for life merely with the Pachalic of St. John of Acre, the former wished to bestow the whole of Syria upon him.

The internal position of affairs was also threatening. An attempt at a Republican rising in Paris, in May, was promptly repressed, but it revealed for the first time the existence of a popular agitation which aimed no longer at merely political reforms, but, assuming a social complexion, demanded, among other things, an equal division of the land.

In the Chamber all parties were bewildered and undecided. The King grew daily more unpopular, being accused, and not without reason, of choosing insignificant men for ministers so as to be able to control their policy; and a proof of the hostility he thus excited was presently afforded by the refusal of a grant for his younger son, the Duke de Nemours.

The Soult Cabinet fell beneath this blow; and

Louis-Philippe resigned himself, although very reluctantly, to the necessity of summoning Thiers, who on the 1st of March, 1840, formed a Ministry which, being composed exclusively of elements from the Left Centre, rested, through this very fact, upon too narrow a parliamentary basis. Thiers, in those days, was still very imaginative and inclined to follow rather than restrain popular sentiment, besides being filled with admiration for Napoleon I. and desirous of military glory.

His Ministry, which lasted only some months, was marked by one act, and one bellicose intention. The *act* was to decree that Napoleon's ashes should be solemnly restored to France—a ceremony which gave fresh life to the Napoleonic legend;[1] the *intention* was betrayed by the decision to reply by warlike preparations to the Convention of the 15th of July, by which England and the other Continental Powers agreed to checkmate the policy of France in Egypt. But on this point Louis-Philippe once more opposed his veto, and allowed his ministers to retire without a vote of the Chamber, rather than yield to their counsels. He was doubtless wise in refusing to encourage the bellicose tendencies of Thiers, but the crisis of 1840 increased public uneasiness by once more rousing national passion, by demonstrating that Europe was still united against France, and by leaving the Sovereign more exposed to attacks than ever.

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[1] Prince Louis Napoleon, who had left the United States and established himself in England, seized the occasion for a fresh enterprise. He disembarked at Boulogne on the 6th of August, 1840, but was at once arrested and brought to trial before the Upper Chamber. This time, instead of being reconducted to the frontier merely, he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham, from whence he succeeded in escaping in 1846.

Guizot now became the head of the Government. In the Cabinet of the 29th of October he left the Premiership, it is true, to Marshal Soult; but nevertheless he remained the real chief from this period until the fall of the July Monarchy—a monarchy of which he may be said to have summed up, in himself, every essential characteristic.

Guizot was endowed with marvellous eloquence, and this led the public to attribute great strength of character to him, but he was in reality of a vacillating disposition, which not only deprived him of all authority over the King, but left him unable to refuse the most ambiguous solicitations.

He said one day: "The middle-classes (*bourgeois*) have no taste for great enterprises. When driven to undertake them by chance, they are uneasy and embarrassed; responsibility troubles them—they feel out of their element, and, being anxious to return to it, they drive easy bargains." And this description, which for the rest is true enough, applied exactly to Guizot himself, with the aggravating circumstance that he never suspected the existence in France of any element outside this middle-class which was, for the time being, the only legal exponent of public opinion.

He saw no need of extending the franchise, since any movement which did not accord with the ideas of his own class seemed to him unmitigated anarchy. He was content to see royalty reposing on the foundations which had been adopted for it in the beginning, and totally failed to understand that these very foundations were shaken by the popular passions now beginning to seethe beneath the surface. He believed himself to be consolidating the dynasty of 1830 when defending, on all occasions, the prerogatives of the Crown, and exhibiting more complacency than was needful towards the wishes of the King.

He cannot be described as a reactionary Minister, since he was sincerely attached to as much liberty as had been achieved; but he reduced *ad absurdum* the principle of immovable Conservatism, and hence ruined the cause which he had sworn to defend.

An agitation in favour of electoral and parliamentary reform began in 1840, to continue uninterruptedly until 1848. The electoral reform demanded was an extension of the franchise, which some thinkers here and there wished to render universal, while the Moderates desired to limit it to the so-called "*Capacitaires.*"[1] Parliamentary reform required a limitation in the inordinate number of functionaries who sat in the Lower Chamber, or, at any rate, the prohibition of any promotion during the time that they continued to represent a constituency. Both the changes described were to be recommended—the extension of the franchise, because it would convince the people that their still vague dreams of social regeneration were, at least, not opposed by the interests of a caste or a coterie, the prejudices of a class, or the selfishness of the rich; parliamentary reform, because it was advisable to redeem the Chamber from all suspicion of servile or venal motives.

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[1] See above, p. 173.

But Guizot haughtily rejected both demands, and deservedly drew down upon himself a bitter apostrophe from Lamartine in 1842. "You inexorably refuse all amelioration. If such were the only attitude necessary for a Statesman charged to direct a Government, there would be no need for a Statesman. A bar would suffice."

It is possible that Guizot might at last have resolved to give some satisfaction to the Progressive party, had it not been for the irreconcilable opposition of the King. But when in 1842 the Duke d'Orleans, Louis-Philippe's eldest son and presumptive heir, was killed in a carriage accident, there perished the only member of the royal family who could in any way perceive the necessities of the future or recognise a law of inevitable evolution; and Guizot, fairly overborne by Louis-Philippe's obstinacy, henceforward closed his ears to all demands.

During the seven years which followed on the formation of the Cabinet of the 29th of October, 1840, outrages, Press prosecutions, financial and administrative scandals added to the uneasiness of the country, by casting doubts not only on the stability of the Government, but also on its honour.

Guizot contrived, nevertheless, to exist by means of experiments and compromises, in spite of two dissolutions, one in 1842 and the other in 1846. He succeeded in passing some useful laws, such as a Better Housing Act, and other Acts on Game

Licenses and Railroads. But the moment politics came into play, everything went against him. In 1842 he failed to induce the Protectionists to accept a Customs Union which he had concluded with Belgium, and was forced to give up the arrangement made with England on the subject of the Right of Search.

In 1844, the Tahiti incident with the indemnity granted to Pritchard, the missionary, were unfavourably commented on by the public, who had not yet recovered from the check imposed upon France in 1840 in Egypt.

Guizot, finding himself regarded as being unduly conciliatory towards Great Britain, sought to purchase popularity by the Spanish marriages, which consisted in marrying Queen Isabella to a Bourbon Prince, Don François d'Assise, and in giving the Duke de Montpensier, Louis-Philippe's brother, as a husband to the Queen's sister. But in order to accomplish this, he had to conciliate Austria by favouring her policy in Switzerland and Italy, and this departure from the national traditions of France outweighed any advantages to be obtained from the alliances.

Guizot's greatest failure in home affairs was his incapacity to settle the religious question, which came to the front chiefly in connection with Public Instruction.

The clergy, whose successive encroachments so largely contributed to the unpopularity and fall of Charles X., had regarded the July Monarchy with a very hostile eye; and their discontent was exasperated by the measures which marked the early part of Louis-Philippe's reign. The Charter, however, promised liberty of teaching, and eminent Catholics, like Montalembert and Lacordaire, who long before the higher ranks of the clergy had seen the necessity for the Church to seek popular support, in preference to identifying its action exclusively with the upper classes, were urgent in demanding the fulfilment of the promise.

The Law of 1833 on Primary Instruction had already empowered religious congregations to furnish teachers to the national schools. But Secondary Instruction remained a monopoly of the University, to which private schools had to send the pupils who aspired to academical degrees. One proposal made by Guizot in 1833 had not succeeded because the Lower Chamber wished to refuse to unauthorised communities, and especially to the Jesuits, the right to open Secondary Schools. In 1844 Villemain, who was then Minister of Public Instruction in the Soult-Guizot Cabinet, presented another project, which, while highly favourable to the small seminaries,[1] appeared excessive to the friends of the University, and altogether inadequate, on the contrary, to the clerics, whose object was simply to destroy State schools. Villemain fell ill and had to resign his post before the Act was passed, and his successor, Salvandy, chose the easy alternative of avoiding so thorny a subject. He gave some satisfaction to the Catholics by allowing ecclesiastics to sit in the

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[1] Small seminaries are ecclesiastical Secondary Schools placed under the control and inspection of bishops.

Council of Public Education (December 7, 1846), and after that the whole question was adjourned indefinitely, while leaving opinions much divided and exasperated.

But the Government, if very feeble and undecided in its home and foreign policy, did at least enrich France by one great possession—namely, Algeria. The various stages of this enterprise lasted from 1830 to 1847, and were carried on by one ministry after another, in the teeth of military and parliamentary obstacles, with a perseverance highly honourable to the statesmen of the period. Doubtless, when Charles X. ordered the occupation of Algeria, nobody foresaw either the length of the arduous undertaking or the magnitude of its results.

It happened here, as in so many colonial enterprises, that the resistance of the native population caused the invader to extend his conquests beyond the limits originally intended. But the fact remains that the fanaticism of the Mahometans, joined to a tenacity in the French of which they do not often give proof ended by conferring on France a colonial possession of nearly four million souls.

In 1833 the tricolour already floated over all important points of the coast from Bona to Oran; in 1835 Tlemcen was taken, and when, by the Treaty of Tafna concluded with the gallant Abd-el-Kader, the western portion of the Regency had been momentarily pacified, the invaders were able to concentrate their attention on Constantine in the East, which fell on the 13th of October, 1837.

When shortly afterwards Abd-el-Kader broke the peace, the French passed the Iron Gates (October, 1839), occupied Cherchell, Medeah, and Milianah in 1840, Boghar and Saida in 1841, Sebdou and Tebessa in 1842, Tenez and Collo in 1843, Batna, Biskra, and Laghouat in 1844, and, pursuing the Emir into Morocco, of which the Emperor supported him, they bombarded Tangier on the 6th of August, 1845, and by the victory of Isly on the 14th of the same month constrained him and his ally to treat.

In 1846 Aures was subdued, Kabylie submitted in the following year, and on the 23rd of November, 1847, Abd-el-Kader surrendered himself a prisoner. The conquest of Algeria was complete.

In this great enterprise one man particularly distinguished himself, Marshal Bugeaud, who shone equally in administration and in war. A moment came when he thought himself obliged to resign his post as Governor-General. The Government decided to replace him by the Duke D'Aumale, youngest son of the King, aged twenty-five only. Marshal Soult, disapproving of the appointment, resigned the Premiership (September 19, 1847), and Guizot then publicly assumed the direction of a Cabinet of which he had been the real moving spirit for some time previously. He was destined, in his new capacity, to assist at the funeral of the July Monarchy.

The situation was not brilliant. The railroads begun in 1842, chiefly at the expense of the State, had disturbed the equilibrium of the Budget, and a floating debt of nearly one milliard francs disquieted the money market, which was already gravely affected by the agricultural crisis, now two years old. Guizot, who had destroyed his authority by inertia in great things and craftiness in small ones, had found some difficulty in filling vacant posts in his Ministry, so widespread were the general disaffection and discouragement, and so pressing the fear of an approaching disturbance. These sentiments manifested themselves unmistakably in the parliamentary debates in January, 1848, but Guizot met all complaints and all challenges with his usual uncompromising disdain and imperturbable optimism.

He conducted the struggle in the least felicitous manner possible. The agitation for electoral reform was universal. Its leaders—men like Duvergier de Hauranne, Rémusat, &c., of extremely moderate views, and belonging in many instances to the Left Centre—organised banquets at which numberless speeches were made in favour of an extension of the suffrage. One of these banquets was announced for the 22nd of February, when all at once the Government forbade its taking place. Immediately, in spite of the Press, which preached patience, in spite even of the secret societies, which did not think the moment favourable for a rising, the workmen of the Faubourg St.-Antoine assembled in the streets. On the 22nd, and still more on the 23rd, there was fighting, and, strange to say, even the National Guard, composed chiefly of small shopkeepers, cried "Vive la Réforme" with the best of the insurgents.

Finding himself thus deserted by the men who had given him the throne, and on whose fidelity he thought he could count, the King took alarm. On the night of the 23rd–24th of February he appointed

Bugeaud to the command of Paris, and called upon the Left Centre and the members of the "Dynastic Left," such as Thiers and Odilon Barrot, to form a Ministry. Too late! The insurgents were already in possession of the capital. On the 24th, at midday, Louis-Philippe abdicated in favour of his infant grandson, the Count de Paris. Again too late! The Chamber was invaded by the mob, and, acting thus under popular pressure, it elected a Provisional Government, composed of Lamartine, Dupont (de l'Eure), Ledru-Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, Arago, and Garnier-Pagès, who, adjourning to the Hôtel de Ville, summoned Louis Blanc to join them, and proclaimed the Republic.

X.

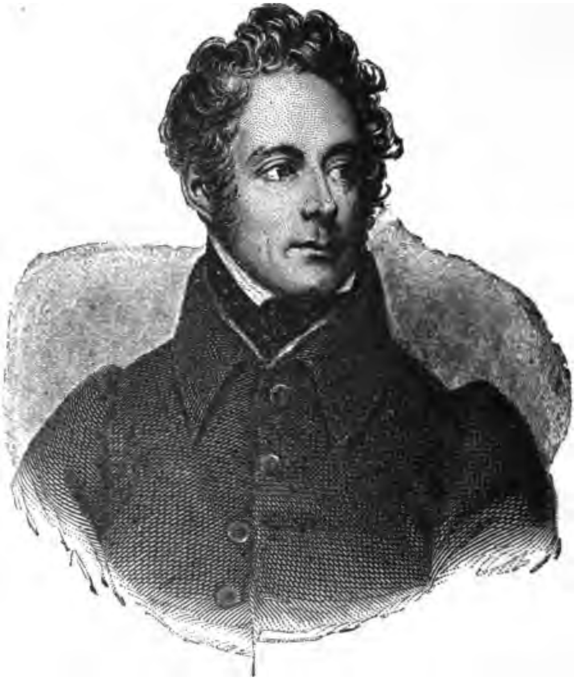
LETTERS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES FROM 1815 TO 1848.

LETTERS.

A LONG period of peace produced an exuberant growth of literature under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. The best minds of the nation no longer poured forth their blood or wasted their genius on battlefields, but in the intellectual arena they displayed on all sides the vigour and passion and elevation of thought which are necessary to the production of masterpieces.

The Eighteenth Century witnessed the high-water mark of Rationalism. The Nineteenth is pre-eminently the period of historians, both in the proper meaning of the word, and in that other sense in which romance writers may be described as historians, since they reproduce the manners of the day. The consequences of this formidable reaction proved much more important than the episodes of the feverish combat waged by literature against academical forms and filled the half of our present century with three great movements—Christian Renascence, Constitutional Monarchy, and Socialism.

We have seen how Chateaubriand and Mdme. de Staël had dazzled the imagination, and touched the heart, of their readers by that picture of the "suffering modern soul" which, accompanied by descriptions of passion and character, and mixed with reflections, impressions of travel, politics, art, and history, formed their conception of a novel.



LAMARTINE.

The later novelists had soon to abandon a style so overcharged and complex, but each writer took from the storehouse of materials that which best suited his own temperament, and reduced it to the form required for a finished work of art.

Benjamin Constant's "Adolphe" (1815) was clearly the offspring of Chateaubriand's "René," with all the poetry and all the idealism of the model left out, but with an added fineness of perception, a psychological depth, and an uncompromising sternness of observation to which the older writer was a stranger.

Similarly the enigmatical Julien Sorel of Stendhal's "Le Rouge et le Noir" is the product of a terribly ingenious analysis of character unrelieved by the palest gleam of poetry.

Among other graduates in what might be described as the "School of Despair" are Alfred de Vigny, author of "Military Servitude and Greatness" (1835), that noble, high-souled, and melancholy book wherein, for once only, a proud aristocrat has taken the public into his confidence and revealed the true secret of his hopelessness; Sainte-Beuve, the writer of "Volupté" (1834), whose hero, the mystical, restless, and subtly-dreaming Amaury, buries in a seminary a love too refined to be ever realised; Lamartine, whose "Jocelyn" (1836) combines the purest love with the most poignant bitterness; finally, Alfred de Musset, who, under the name of Octave in the "Confessions d'un Enfant du Siècle" (1836), bewails and reviles the disillusions of his famous sojourn in Italy with George Sand, and unveils all his audacities and all his scruples, as well as describing the strange lassitude which shortened his life.

So far in our survey we have followed one current;

let us now trace another by drawing attention to the brilliant fancy, the dreamy mysticism, and the picturesque descriptions which furnish more particularly the stuff of Romanticism, and of which Madame de Staël, rather than Chateaubriand, was the originator.

First as to time in this connection comes Nodier with "Jean Sbogar" (1818), the chivalrous brigand, with "Trilby" (1822), and "La Fée aux Miettes" (1832), works of fantasy where one may plainly see the influence of Young's "Night Thoughts," and still more of Goethe's Ballads and Hoffmann's Tales.

Next we have Stendhal, whose "Chartreuse de Parme" (written in 1830 and published in 1839) is made up of descriptions of the small Italian principalities, with their thousand intrigues, of anecdotes of the author's first experiences in arms, reminiscences of his early love-affairs, and a fanatical admiration for Napoleon. Stendhal escapes classification, but he might be likened to Mdme. de Staël if the "Chartreuse de Parme" herself had not dealt a fatal blow to "Corinne."

Merimée is more romantic than Beyle, but otherwise resembles him in his scepticism and his impassive attitude. His "Guzla," published in 1827, has been justly described as a masterpiece of mystification, and is a marvellous example of local colouring. The same remark applies to his "Chronicle of Charles IX.," a historical romance in the style inaugurated in 1826 by the "Cinq-Mars" of Alfred de Vigny. In "Colomba" (1840) and "Carmen" (1847) he attained perfection, and created two delightful feminine types

—the first, gentle, melancholy, untamed, and tragic; the second, alert, gay, coquettish, and dangerously vicious.

Victor Hugo's "Han d'Islande" (1823) and "Bug Jargal" (1826) are picturesque and glowing, while in "Nôtre-Dame de Paris" (1831) he transforms the building into a kind of colossal living thing which feels and thinks and speaks, as it towers above the swarming and parti-coloured crowds of mediæval Paris.

Theophile Gautier, in his "Jeune France" (1833) and "Mademoiselle de Maupin" (1835), gives free play to an unbridled fancy on the look-out for extraordinary, or rather extra-natural, sensations, which fatigues the admiring reader at last by its excess of colour and picturesqueness.

All these novels have merit, without doubt—merit and beauty—but they lack the strong originality and boldness of conception which would stamp their authors as creators. We find these qualities, on the other hand, in George Sand and Balzac: one being the head of the idealist school, the other passing for being the chief of realists.

George Sand is indeed idealist in the sense that her imagination is greater than her perspicacity, and what she thinks is more than really exists. She differs from the Romanticists by the harmonious simplicity of her form, the unexaggerated freshness of her colouring, and, above all, by the fact that she seeks her protagonists among the humbler classes and tillers of the soil. Up to now, all heroes of romance had been aristocrats—if not actually by birth, at least in thought and feeling.

Nevertheless, George Sand owed much to Chateaubriand, whose works she had largely read. Like him she went for the materials of her novels to her own store of emotions, her own experience of grief, retailing with all the feverishness, the exaggeration, and the eloquence of genius, her life, her passion, her vengeance, and her love.

"Indiana" (1832) represents the feminine type—the weak being whose passions are repressed, or, one might say, suppressed by law—whose love hurls itself blindly against the obstacles created by civilisation. The work was born of the bitter disappointment which her unhappy marriage brought to the writer. "Valentine" (1832) is another variation on the same theme of an ill-assorted union springing from merely conventional considerations. In "Jacques" (1834) the author describes her ideal of love in a man, as in "Indiana" she had described her ideal of love in a woman; and in "Mauprat" (1837) she shows how love can elevate a savage nature. "Lelia" (1834) is the history of a soul torn between doubt and faith, between passionate sensuality and transcendent spiritualism; while in "Spiridion" (1840) this same restless soul seems finally to have found its true path, along which it pursues religious truth and a divine ideal—two of the absorbing pre-occupations of the period. But there was another subject of intense interest at that time—Socialism, and George Sand, abandoning her purely religious ideal for the moment, wrote "Le Compagnon du Tour de France" (1840), "Horace" (1842), "Consuelo" (1842), "La Comtesse de Rudolstadt" (1843), "Le Meunier d'Angibault"

(1845), and "Le Péché de M. Antoine" (1847); wherein all systems figure in turn, including Théosophy and Communism.

Politico-social questions hampered her genius however, and she soon abandoned them for a new manner. In 1846 appeared the exquisite idyl, "La Mare au Diable," a romance of the fields; which was followed by "La Petite Fadette" (1848) and "François le Champi" (1850), two masterpieces of a style hitherto unknown to French literature, where the idyl had consisted merely in an insipid adaptation from the Greek.

Balzac differs in an even greater degree than George Sand from the Romanticists. He has a strong, precise perception of reality, an instinctive knowledge of life, and the power of making his personages live, joined to the faculty for analysis and for systematic arrangement which usually distinguishes a man of science. He hits the essential truth of things even while generalising. His method of summing up all his works in one, and of reproducing the same characters in a hundred different situations, gives an effect of incomparable power. His defects are those of his qualities: fertility and force producing incorrectness of style, pedantry, interminable digressions, chimerical views, and a want of fineness and critical perception.

One needs only to pass in review the more celebrated volumes of "La Comédie Humaine," to see with what completeness and what security of touch Balzac has reproduced the society of the period in which he lived; and with what penetration he perceived the new conditions imposed upon the furious pursuit of material resources, the struggle and the strife of men who only seek to live.

"La Physiologie du Mariage" (1829) was a brutal revelation of conjugal debauch; "La Peau de Chagrin," with its heroine Fœdora, gave high dramatic form to the type of a woman without heart or passion; yet another type, "L'Illustre Gaudissart," appeared as the prince of bagmen; "Eugénie Grandet" (1833) contained a perfect picture of provincial life and the "cheap" existence of dwellers in small country towns. "Le Père Goriot" (1835) remains for all time an example of the excesses, sometimes sublime and sometimes ridiculous, of paternal affection; "La Recherche de l'Absolu" gives a tragic and powerful representation of a man of science so possessed with the idea of a discovery as to sacrifice all to that one passion; "La Femme de Trente Ans" (1831) is a masterpiece of psychological observation; "Ursule Mirouet" (1842) is a delicate and chaste study of noblest affection.

Many more characters stand out in striking relief from the pages of these hundred volumes: La Cousine Bette, an envious old maid; Madame Hulot, a beautiful, virtuous woman betrayed by an unworthy husband; Madame Marneffe, the shameless and unscrupulous wife of a small functionary; the usurer Gobseck, the miser Grandet, the stockbroker Nucingen, the convict Vautrin, and others such as Rastignac, Mortsauf, Rubempré, and Mother Vauquer.

Balzac's influence on literature is greater than that of George Sand, and if he is perhaps not her equal, it is only because his ambition to be all-embracing caused him to waste his force.

Both authors wrote for a fairly cultivated public. And as they obtained both fame and money, the idea occurred to other writers to address themselves directly to the masses, and to reach them at once by the device of the daily serial.

Eugène Sue, by thus publishing his "Mystères de Paris" in the columns of the *Siècle*, operated a literary revolution. From that moment the unlimited popular success of the novel was assured, its appeal being addressed to a public of simple minds with a taste for the marvellous, and small powers of analysis.

Fiction then entered on a new stage, and not only lost in beauty of style, but was subjected to a peculiar species of literary torture—the invention, namely, of extraordinary intrigues over-stimulating to the reader's curiosity, accompanied by great pomp of sentiment and by socialistic professions vaguer in nature than the utterances of the greater writers, but probably all the more dangerous.

Eugène Sue also published in 1844–45 the "Wandering Jew," wherein he originated, under the name of "Rodin," the well-known type of the Jesuit fortune-hunter who recoils neither from assassinations nor poisonings, as well as numberless other characters which to-day are forgotten.

Alexandre Dumas is the most prolific and the most talented of the popular romancers. About the year 1825 he had devoured Walter Scott, Goethe, and Schiller, at that time very fashionable, as well as Barante's "History of the Dukes of Burgundy"; and this course of reading determined his vocation. Gifted with a very fertile imagination, and a strong liking for adventurous characters, full of fire and readiness, gaiety and wit, he turned for the materials of the greater number of his romances to the reigns of the later Valois and the Regency, which were the periods when adventurers flourished. And by thus presenting French annals in an attractive and, on the whole, exact form, he spread a knowledge of history not only among the masses in his own country, but throughout the whole world. We may name "La Reine Margot" (1845), "La Dame de Montsoreau" (1846), "Les Trois Mousquetaires" (1844), "Vingt Ans Après" (1845), "Le Vicomte de Bragelonne" (1847), (all evoking memories of St. Bartholomew), "The Court of Henri III.," "Louis XIII.," and finally "Monte-Cristo" (1845), a colossal imitation of the "Arabian Nights" adapted to modern usage, and wherein the power of gold replaces the wand of the enchanter and the marvels worked by genii. Whatever the defects of such works, one must admit that they achieved an unprecedented success. Dumas amused, delighted, and ravished successive generations. He represented a social force which exists even yet.

Paul de Kock, a lesser Dumas, gained an European reputation through his mirth-compelling stories. He introduced into the novel all the comic side of life. Gifted with real powers of observation and an irresistible sense of the ridiculous, he revived the old Gallic gaiety which the melancholy of René and his too numerous descendants seemed to have completely killed.

To sum up, then, the Novel, until 1848, with a few exceptions, remained a romantic product; but as it approached the date of the new Revolution, its character gradually altered and was finally quite transformed. The love of the marvellous, the yearning for the Infinite, all the exaggerations of idealism were destined to be swept away by the whirlwind of those material aspirations which the Novel itself had contributed to formulate by giving expression to the utopian ideas of Socialism, and spreading them abroad on the wings of popular literature.

THE STAGE.

It was not without effort that the Novel had attained to this prodigious development. Every radical change disturbs some habits, injures some interests, and rouses bitter discontent.

The French public loved abstractions, precise, severe methods and correctness of style too much not to be often offended and disgusted by the sudden apparition in literature of historical verities and undisguised passion, of license of form and a glow of description.

The disciples of the new school had to reply to very vehement attacks from their adversaries, and nobody was ever more ridiculed or aspersed than Victor Hugo, George Sand, Balzac, Dumas, and Théophile Gautier.

As long as these virulent onslaughts took place in *salons* or newspaper offices their echo did not penetrate to the ear of the great public. It was different when the battle was transferred to the theatre, and there waged with all the added impressiveness of scenic effects. It swelled to the proportions of an epic, and the victory which the Romanticists finally carried off from the Classicists was crushing and conclusive.

Of late years endless discussions have arisen over the precise meaning of this word Romanticism ; but in 1830 everybody understood it too well to require any definition. The Classic School represented French art in its traditional form and methods, without regard to the fact that the form no longer commanded obedience and that the methods were worn out. The Romantic School desired to rejuvenate Art by giving it a new dress and a new colouring, by representing human nature with its real passions and weaknesses, by seeking a background for emotion in the world of nature, and giving local and historical truth to the heroes of a drama.

The "Romantic School" did not exist until Victor Hugo founded it by formulating the doctrines of its scattered partisans in the preface to his "Cromwell" (1827), and by furnishing them with an ideal and a rallying point in "Hernani" (1829). And the word "School" itself must not be taken to mean any hierarchy of teaching, for it simply served to describe a group of young men who were bound to one another by the ties, at once strong and loose, of hope and enthusiasm.

The old-fashioned classical tragedy still counted sufficient admirers to ensure success to such dull and frigid, feeble and colourless productions as Ancelot's "Louis IX." (1819), Casimir Delavigne's "Vêpres

Siciliennes" (1819), or Lebrun's "Marie Stuart" (1820). But Victor Hugo's preface to "Cromwell" (1827) dealt it a first fatal blow.

Hugo took for models the Bible, Homer, and Shakespeare, and rejecting the theory of the three unities, he adopted the new rule of contrast—that is to say, the perpetual antithesis between good and evil, beauty and grotesqueness, the world and nature, fate and providence, laughter and tears. He worked out a theory of the drama, and by contrasting it with tragedy, compassed the ruin of the latter. A new language followed necessarily on this transformation, and was defined by Hugo in the following terms :—" We want a free form of verse—an honest, loyal poetry which shall courageously say everything without false shame, express everything without affectation, and pass naturally from comedy to tragedy, from the sublime to the grotesque ; which shall overcome the monotony of the Alexandrine by an apt employment of the cæsura ; and prefers the carrying on of one line into another to an inversion which obscures the sense ; which shall be faithful to rhyme—that enslaved Queen—the supreme charm of our poetry, inexhaustible in its variety, elusive in its elegance and its composition,—which shall avoid tirades and delight in dialogue."

We know that Hugo carried out his programme entirely. His audacious innovations scandalised the classics even more than his attack upon acknowledged rules.

The first attempts at reform were timid. Casimir Delavigne gave up unity of place in his "Marino

Faliero" (1829); and Soumet, in "Une Fête de Néron" (1829), achieved a compromise between tragedy and the latent aspirations of the public towards the movement and glow of drama.

In 1830, Victor Hugo produced "Hernani," wherein he reduced to practice the system which he had adopted in "Cromwell," a drama unadapted for the stage. Every point was excessive, heroic, superhuman. The characterisation of the ancient drama gave way to theatrical effects, and personages, action, and plot were subordinated to "staging" and costume. But extravagance of action and falseness of colouring were alike forgiven for the sake of lyrical style. The evening of the 25th of February is famous in the history of literature. The rival schools indulged in a free fight, but the genius of the author and the enthusiasm of his partisans triumphed over the Classicists and their vain appeal to the secular arm: and through the breach thus made the Romanticists poured in.

One work of Hugo's followed another. "Marion Delorme," the reformed courtesan washed clean by maternal love and by repentance; "Le Roi s'amuse" (1832), wherein it is a father whose moral deformity is cured by passionate affection for his child; "Lucretia Borgia" (1833), yet another example of maternal love, this time redeeming a monster of depravity; "Ruy Blas" (1838), the lackey who loves a queen, and whose nobility of soul elevates him—a plebeian—above those who have only noble blood; finally, "Les Burgraves" (1843), an Eschylean drama, which failed completely: such were the pieces composing an extraordinary, fantastic series, wherein the abuse of the method of contrast destroys all verisimilitude in the characters and their surroundings, but which is admirably effective, sparkling with life and gaiety, and superbly lyrical in style.

In 1831, Alexandre Dumas produced "Antony," an astonishing production of which the essential meaning, the *leitmotiv*, lies wholly in the final phrase, "She resisted me. I have assassinated her." The piece caused immense scandal, but Antony the "*beau ténébreux*," the prince of morbid lovers, obtained a great success, especially with women. "La Tour de Nesles" appeared in 1832. Its scenic effect was incontestable, but its plot contained the most terrific accumulation of massacres, abominations, and crimes which had ever been presented to the public. It was followed by other historical dramas, namely, in 1837 by "La Reine Margot"; in 1839 by "Mademoiselle de Belle Isle"; and in 1843 by "Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr."

There remains to be noticed the "Chatterton" of Alfred de Vigny (1835), a morbid, poignant, and eloquent drama, the most remarkable of all the Romantic school, and which, more than any of its predecessors, roused passionate emotion among the spectators. The *dénouement* of the piece, containing the death of the loving, faithful Kitty—a death so tragic and simple as to exalt its heroine into a martyr of conjugal duty—appeared sufficiently immoral in the eyes of the public to be denounced from the Tribune of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Classicists made an attempt to defend themselves by other means than protestations, cat-calls, hisses, and appeals to Government.

The most brilliant opponent of the Romanticists was Viennet, who once defiantly said, "These changes of place, this license of time, these prologues and the rest suit me not at all, and I shall remain in this respect the last of the Romans." He produced various tragedies strictly classical in form, of which the least bad were "Clovis" (1830) and "Arbogaste" (1841).

Ancelot, an old man now, wrote "Maria Padilla," which was acted in 1838; and Ponsard followed with "Lucrèce" in 1843, and "Agnes de Méranie" three years later. The respectable delusion that these authors were keeping alive the traditions of common sense and of true French art was fostered by the persistent flocking of the public to tragedies into which the genius of Rachel infused a new vitality.

POETRY.

Madame de Staël had a very distinct idea of the sort of poetry which was to work the literary reform so ardently desired by her.

Its inspiration must, she conceived, be sought in meditative contemplation of the riddle of human destiny; and, only a few years after her death, the poet whom she had invoked arose in Lamartine, who even borrowed of her the title of one of his poems, "Les Recueillements" (published in 1839).

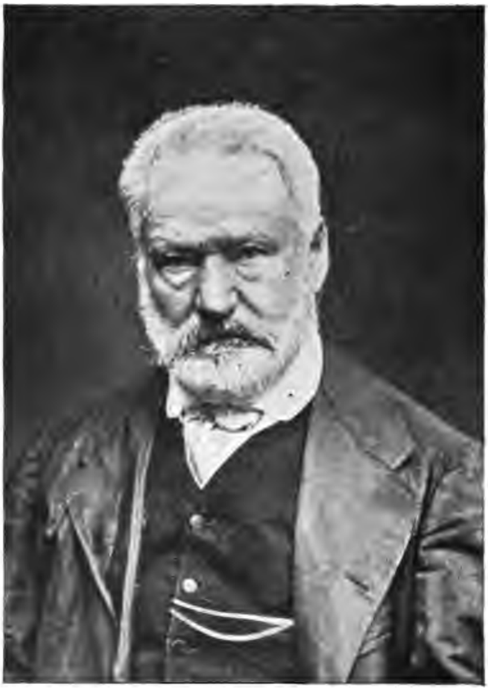
Lamartine's mind had been nourished on the poetry of Ossian, Schiller, Klopstock, and Byron; he was as religious as Chateaubriand and in the same manner, and he shared Madame de Staël's vigorous hatred of Napoleon.

His religious and philosophical conceptions were very lofty and clothed in language of enchanting harmony.

His "Méditations poétiques" (1820), "Nouvelles Meditations" (1823), "Harmonies poétiques et religieuses" (1830), and "Chute d'un Ange" (1838), had for their themes the struggle of the human soul with the problems of destiny, the metempsychosis of the mind, Providence, and the beneficent influence of nature and solitude, all expressed in melodious verse full of freshness and of bold, original imagery. It was said of Lamartine that he had summoned poetry from Parnassus, and, in place of the lyre with seven chords, had given the muse the human heart to play on with all its strings vibrating to the innumerable thrills of nature and the soul. On the whole, he has left only uncertain utterances, vague but harmonious, and as such corresponding to the dreamy aspirations of high-toned women, and soothing to the proud grief of disillusioned souls. These qualities ensure Lamartine's immortality. For the rest, he judged himself with absolute correctness. "I have had soul, it is true; and that is all. I have rendered some notes that came from the heart. Soul is, however, sufficient for feeling, but not for expression. Time has failed me for a perfect work, but that is because I have wasted time—that capital of genius."

In reality Lamartine does not belong to the

Romanticists. He approaches more nearly to Chateaubriand, and nearer still to Madame de Staël, whom he completes, so to speak, as a poet, just as Guizot completed her as an historian.



VICTOR HUGO.

The same influences acted upon Victor Hugo, being carried in his case as far as they could go. In the beginning, when he wrote his Odes (1822) he is almost classical. Nodier plunged him into the Romantic movement. "Some styles," wrote Chateaubriand, "are contagious, and their colour dyes off upon other minds." Victor Hugo was permeated with the style of Chateaubriand himself. His imagination was extraordinarily powerful, and he possessed the power of assimilating Nature and incarnating surroundings, every aspect of which he rendered with prodigious intensity and exaggeration.

It was this same faculty, reacting from his mind on his character, which resulted in those variations of political conduct with which he has frequently been reproached. In point of fact, he did not vary; he only received the impression in turn of every opinion that prevailed throughout his long existence —Legitimism, Bonapartism, Republicanism, Socialism, —he absorbed them all, and, after the delay necessary for assimilation, reproduced them with such entire good faith as to prove that he was successively convinced of the truth of each one of them.

In this way he passed from Chateaubriand to Madame de Staël, from Legitimism to Liberalism; in this way he joined the disciples of the Romantic school in 1824, and straightway rose to the first place among them. He affirmed Thought to be "virgin and fruitful soil, whereon ideas spring freely, and, so to speak, by chance." In 1829 he published "Les Orientales," which, in the history of poetry, marked a date as important as the production on the stage of "Hernani." It realised, less in substance, perhaps, than in form and rhythm, a portion of the programme which the Romanticists had assigned to poetry, and which was well described by Sainte-Beuve in the following words:—

"It is sought to restore truth, naturalness, a familiar tone even to French poetry, and at the same time to revive its firmness of style and brilliancy, to teach it anew how to express things that for nearly a century past it has forgotten, to instruct it in others which it has not yet learnt, to enable it to express the emotions of the soul and the least shades of thought, and to reflect external nature not only by colouring and imagery, but sometimes also by a simple and happy juxtaposition of syllables; to make it show itself in airy fancy, invested with any form it may choose and clothed with delicate grace; to give it, in great subjects, the movement and step of groups and combinations (*ensembles*); to suggest in an ode, and not inadequately, the great music of the day or the features of Gothic architecture," &c.

Victor Hugo was to endeavour to realise all these ideals.

"Les Orientales," full of dazzling external effects, were followed (1831) by "Les Feuilles d'Automne," a poem of the heart; then (1835) came "Les Chants du Crépuscule," the poetry of doubt elevated to the rank of a doctrine; and in 1837, "Les Voix Intérieures," a grand expression of the inexorable conflict waged between scepticism and faith; finally, "Les Rayons et les Ombres" (1840) showed a clearing of the horizon.

Thus we see Hugo at the same time as George Sand undergoing a similar crisis of the soul, and then, in faithful correspondence with the stages of evolution of his age, dreaming, on the eve of the events of '48, that he may accomplish some social mission, and aspiring, like Lamartine, to influence his fellow-citizens by some more direct means than the writing of fiction. In the first stage of his career he had stood revealed as one of the greatest of French lyrists, and very largely contributed to restore beauty of form to the French language, and to renew its methods of versification.

Alfred de Vigny, stronger than Lamartine and more philosophical than Victor Hugo, was also, if the truth must be told, the one great thinker of the Romantic school. But while Victor Hugo could render every voice of nature and every accent of the human heart, De Vigny has but one note, very pure, indeed, very strong, altogether dominant, which may be described as the cry of yearning loneliness. "Eloa" (1824), "Moise," "Le Déluge," "La Colère de Samson" (1822–26) rank with the finest poems in French literature, and they are, moreover, original, in that they unite the substance of Romanticism to a purely classic form.

Alfred de Musset was also a victim of the *mal du siècle*, but he soon learnt to make fun of Lamartinian whimpers. Nevertheless he tried, with George Sand, the experiment of realising a romantic ideal of love, and all he gained from this insensate attempt was to feel the full bitterness of passion and to sow the seeds of immeasurable and incurable suffering. On the other hand, he shows himself a great lyrical poet in the elegies entitled "Les Nuits" (1835–37), and he created an original philosophy which consisted in regarding memory (*Le Souvenir*) as the one remedy for the ills of life, the one guardian of happiness and love, since it remains, sweet and consolatory, after grief is over and love is dead and happiness has vanished.

Musset was for a long time the poet by preference of youthful readers, whom he attracted by his lively pictures of love, his sensibility, his dandyism, and the other inferior sides of his genius. A voracious reader, he was familiar with ancients and moderns, with English and German, and he united in his own person almost all the characteristic features of his epoch. His "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie" (1830), his Tyrol in "La Coupe et les Lèvers" (1835) are quite false to nature—as false as Hugo's descriptions of the Rhine and Stendhal's pictures of Italy, which they further resemble in being unmistakably inspired by Madame de Staël.

Brizeux is known as the author of the delicious idyl, "Marie," which describes the pure love of youth, and strikes, in poetry, the same key of rustic simplicity which George Sand had introduced into fiction.

Théophile Gautier, in action the most brilliant and uncompromising of the Romanticists, unlike his fellows, is not at all lyrical. He is an amazing painter or engraver in words, having but one theme, namely, physical love. But his pen adorns this theme with the most fantastic variations, the most dazzling embroideries. His form is always splendid, full of brilliant imagery, excessive subtleties, refinements of expression, superabundant rhymes and systematic transitions. Indeed, it is too beautiful: its splendour blinds. At the period which we are considering, Gautier had not yet shown all that he was capable of as a poet. His strange and fiery poem "Albertus," published in 1832, is an exaggerated application of Hugo's law of contrasts. In his "Comédie de la Mort" (1838) he shows himself preoccupied, like so many others at the moment (only less profoundly, for he was no thinker), with the problem of man's end.

But he was far from resembling his contemporaries in another point, their interest, namely, in politics, for the *bourgeois* inspired him with hatred and repulsion, and he was a fanatical exponent of the Art for Art's sake theory.

Béranger and Auguste Barbier, on the contrary, found in politics the source of all their inspiration. Béranger gently rallied Napoleon in the "Roi d'Yvetôt" (1813), but hurled invectives at the invading Allies, and peppered the Restoration with sarcasms. His poems attacking nobles, priests, and the censorship of the press were sung throughout the length and breath of France. The Government took alarm, and threw the singer into prison. The Revolution of 1830 set him free, and thenceforth, his importance enhanced by the aureole of martyrdom, he conducted an incessant campaign against the abuses of Constitutional monarchy, and became in turn a Republican, an Imperialist, and a Socialist.

Béranger carried to the point of genius the talent of giving voice to the instincts, the sensations and the ideas of the lower middle-class (*la petite bourgeoisie*) of the period in which he lived. Hence his celebrity, his immense popularity. He was the only really popular, the only national poet of his time; but his chief glory resulted from ephemeral causes, and vanished with the events and the manners to which it owed its existence.

The same must be said of Barbier, who produced one work, "Les Iambes" (1831), after the Revolution of July, which caused a great sensation as being in perfect harmony with the excited state of the public mind, but was forgotten in the calm that followed.

HISTORY.

In 1834, Augustin Thierry expressed the belief that "History would stamp the nineteenth century for its own, just as Philosophy had done for the eighteenth." Our preceding sketch has already demonstrated the truth of this prophecy. The most remarkable consequence of Romanticism was to quicken the study of history.

Thanks to Chateaubriand's "Martyrs," to his auburn-haired Franks, the writers of fiction turned for their materials to the Middle Ages, and Madame de Staël, by introducing the great figure of Napoleon into polemical literature, gave rise successively to the magnificent invectives of Lamartine, and to the enthusiastic legend which, beginning with Béranger's songs, was swollen by Victor Hugo's strophes, and finally immortalised by Thiers.

Inspired by the example of the Romanticists, historians proceeded to restore their real background to events which previously they had contented themselves with drily narrating. They began to make their readers acquainted with the men of past days in the manners, the dress, the habits and characteristics of the period, turning for this end to documentary evidence as contained in departmental and communal archives, and in local and private collections.

The present century being combative in its tendencies, party passion is perhaps mainly responsible for the modern historical method. The monarchy, when restored after the French Revolution, needed to prop up its power by appeals to the past, and mere tradition being a broken reed, writers like Joseph de Maistre and Bonald had to seek in the history of the Middle Ages for proof of the rights which they were anxious to establish. Liberals, on the other hand, went to the same sources for a justification of popular sovereignty or, rather, of middle-class supremacy. This double current flowing from the fountain-heads of history grew eventually to a great river, bearing on its breast an immense number of original works and an abundance of discoveries.

Augustin Thierry's vocation for history was determined by a perusal of "Les Martyrs," and led in 1820 to the publication of his "Letters on the History of France," which dealt a fatal blow to the old methods of writers like Mezeray, Garnier, Anquetil, and Velly. He followed up this first attack in a still more masterly fashion in his "History of the Norman Conquest of England" (1825), wherein the whole system of the new school was disclosed. To-day it is no longer possible to write history in the interest of one idea only; the reading public will not stand it. They require to be told everything; to have described and explained the condition of the nations at every point, and to feel sure that to each century its real place has been assigned with its true atmosphere and value.

Thierry, in his first work, did not rise above political passion. His object was to rehabilitate the middle-classes, so that they might resist the reactionary tendencies of the Government. Consequently he represented the emancipation of the Communes as a true social revolution, the prelude of all those which have successively improved the condition of the Third Estate, and described the events of 1789 and 1830 as being a retaliation for the Frankish Conquest. The same tendency pervades his "Dix Ans d'Études Historiques" (1834), and even the "Histoire du Tiers-Etât" which appeared in 1853.

But when he finally forgot this theory, Thierry wrote a masterpiece. The "Récits des Temps Mérovingiens" (1840) is a graphic picture, composed with the help of an infinity of significant trifles, of a very complex society, the originality of which lay in a racial antagonism softened by mutual imitation. The real Franks and the real Gauls were resuscitated in all the simplicity of their respective legends, and for the first time the dryness of mere dates and the monotonous recital of events gave way to a reality at once accurate, living, and dramatic.

Almost at the same time as Thierry published his "Lettres sur l'Histoire" in the *Courrier Français,* Guizot, Madame de Staël's most distinguished pupil, published his "Histoire du Gouvernement Représentatif" (1821–22), and shortly afterwards his "Essais sur l'Histoire de France" (1823), which illuminated all the avenues of history. This was followed by "L'Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre" (1827–28), and by "L'Histoire Générale de la Civilisation en France" (1828–30), which simply took up, amplified and completed the work of Madame de Staël. The guiding principles of these two histories were reverence for justice and love of liberty. Guizot, cold, correct, and always clear, excelled in reconstituting the past with the help of German and English erudition, and in analysing and criticising the doctrines of his predecessors. Ideas alone have attraction for him, but he rendered them in a masterly manner. If he lacks the faculty which Thierry possessed of infusing intense life into his compositions, he is capable of embracing wider views, and of comprehending better the existence, the *rôle*, the relations, development and machinery of the great constitutional bodies of modern life, such as Feudalism, the Church, the Throne, and the Communes. But, like Thierry, he belongs to his time, and refers events to a preconceived design, which is as much as to say that he is orthodox in his beliefs.

The methods of these two masters created, consequently, two schools of history—one picturesque, or descriptive and realistic, the other by preference idealistic.

Alexis de Tocqueville is the most distinguished member of the Philosophical school. In considering the evolution of the century, one fact had struck him particularly—the progress of French society towards democracy; and he went to the United

States in order to observe the working of that form of government. The fruit of his studies, "Democracy in America" (1835–39), is a work of immense intellectual scope, conceived in the spirit of Guizot, written with the same authority but with calmer impartiality, with as rigorous logic but greater depth of thought. No writer has ever understood or explained the system of the United States in a manner superior to De Tocqueville, nor analysed better the influence of democracy on the ideas and manners of a nation, with the corresponding sway which these ideas and manners exercise on political organisation.

Michelet, a disciple of the celebrated Neapolitan Vico, founded the Symbolical school, at once philosophical and picturesque, and dominated by the idea of progress. His conception of history was "A resurrection of integral life." He published the first volumes of his great history of France, "Le Moyen Age," in 1833–43. His method was first to reconstruct the body, so to speak, of past ages by carefully describing the geographical character and appearance of each of the great territorial divisions of France, then to revivify the soul. And they live, these past ages, in all the intensity of their instincts, their beliefs, their desires, and their transports.

Michelet was endowed with the most brilliant of undisciplined imaginations. He was a true seer, a magical writer, exquisitely poetical and yet consummately erudite, versed in all the learning and discoveries of the day, especially those of the German *savants*, and adding constantly to his store of knowledge out of the priceless archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale, to which he was attached officially from 1831. His views are novel and profound, and he excites and carries away his readers. Nevertheless he has certain preconceived ideas and prejudices, and is so impressionable as to fall into contradictory excesses and give a false idea of history. These defects became patent more especially after 1843, when, in company with Edgar Quinet, he published his work on the Jesuits.

Michelet espoused the cause of democracy with fervour, and became an uncompromising enemy of kings and priests. In 1846 he wrote "Le Peuple," and then gave up his great history of France in order to devote himself exclusively to the Revolution (1847–53), in describing which he indulged in wild enthusiasm and extraordinary invectives. These excesses were fatal to his talent, and, as we shall show later, he never found again the serenity and impartiality which, joined to his essential qualities, made his "Moyen Age" the greatest of historical works.

If Michelet was the most unbridled of the Romanticists, Thiers regarded all such eccentricities as savouring of insurrection, and he consequently cannot be described as an artist. Nor is he a philosopher, although he believed that society evolves itself in obedience to regular laws. His principal qualities as an historian are the same as those which he showed in politics—persuasive reasoning power and practical good sense. His history of the Revolution (1823–27) and of the Consulate and Empire (1840 *et seq.*)

are planned with much breadth; but being based on doubtful documents, or, at any rate, on documents too hastily accepted, they abound in inaccuracies. But the narrative is a masterpiece of eloquence, and contains many interesting, pathetic pages, besides offering a luminous picture of politics and finance in one of the most memorable and complex periods of history.

Thiers delighted in battle scenes and descriptions of strategy, which were at one time unanimously admired and are now justly criticised. He was an enthusiastic partisan of Napoleon as military commander, legislator, and administrator, considering him in all three respects the greatest of men; and together with Béranger and Hugo, he is responsible for that Napoleonic legend which produced the Second Empire.

As shown already by the example of Michelet, History, no more than Fiction, the Drama or Poetry, could remain unaffected by the democratic tendencies of the age. Socialism had its historian in Louis Blanc ("Histoire de Dix Ans," 1841; "Histoire de la Révolution Française," 1847 *et seq.*), whose fundamental idea was that Authority, Individualism, and Fraternity are the three great principles which prevail throughout the history of the world. His works, correct as to facts, are deformed by passion, intolerance and party spirit.

CRITICISM.

Literary Criticism is indebted to History for the fruitful transformation which has been operative in its methods and proceedings.

Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant broke through the old routine, prevailing ever since the sixteenth century, by which the only function assigned to Criticism had been a minute search for beauties and defects in literary production.

The new method consisted in taking into account the circumstances under which a work had seen the light, and in studying the psychology of the writer. These principles inspired the lectures of Geoffroy (published 1819–20), and lent them some originality and independence of thought.

Sainte-Beuve published his "Tableau Historique et Critique de la Poésie Française et du Théâtre Français au XVI. Siècle" (1828) with the definite intention of consolidating the Romantic School by finding a national support for it in the past. Sainte-Beuve is an historian in the widest sense of the word, as proved by his magnificent narrative of Port-Royal (1840 *et seq.*), which showed a profound comprehension of the ideas and sentiments of the men and the works belonging to the seventeenth century. But it was only after 1848 that he attained to the full development of his genius, and began to exercise a preponderating influence over literature.

Between 1828 and 1838 the sceptre of the critic was wielded by Villemain. He was the first to ally criticism to history, sociology, and philosophy; the first to seek in manners an explanation for ideas, and to judge a writer's productions with the help afforded by a knowledge of his character. "He raises literary history to the full dignity of history proper," said Augustin Thierry, "making of it a new science of which he is the creator."

Saint-Marc-Girardin is distinguished for having closely connected Morals with Comparative Criticism. He fell into the same exaggeration as Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire in his method of Comparative Anatomy. He has original views and luminous notions of relation, but his system gradually leads him to baseless hypotheses and erroneous conclusions.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL THEORIES.

The nearer one approaches to studies wherein imagination should play a smaller part than observation and experience, the less one ought to perceive the influence of Romanticism. But even Economists and Socialists were unable to escape from the strongest tendency of the period. To what but Romanticism can we ascribe that attachment to the Middle Ages which induced Villeneuve-Bargemont ("Economie Politique Chrétienne," 1834) to demand State intervention for technical instruction, and for forcing workers to save their money and group themselves in corporations? To what other influence can we attribute the strange forecasts of Fourier as to the future of the world; or the paradoxical audacity of Saint-Simon and Proud'hon; or the wealth of penetration and brilliancy of style which have given new life to that science of political economy born, as we have seen, in a previous era?

And where we find this romantic and mystical colouring, so do we also find that same ardent combativeness and that same confusion of ideas which we have remarked upon so often already in the course of this chapter.

Charles Dunoyer ("Liberté du Travail," 1845) asserts that economical and social phenomena are inseparable. "Services" form the great object of exchange between men; and all value consequently results from human activity, either intellectual or material. Social inequalities must for that very reason be maintained, since they are the condition of division of labour.

Bastiat (" Sophismes Économiques," 1845–48) takes refuge in an imperturbable optimism, but he shows cleverness in criticising social systems and defending "infamous capital" against Proud'hon's attacks.

Auguste Comte originated the historical school of political economy. He founded sociology, marked its place, fixed its boundaries, stated its problem, and defined its principles and its method. He believed that progress is accomplished by evolution.

The same period saw the birth, in France, of socialism, under a strangely mystical and ideal form, which must perhaps be traced to the vague and pompous religiosity of Chateaubriand.

Fourier, the founder of Phalansteries, imagined an ideal and fantastic world wherein capital, labour, and talent should be associated in virtue of an emotional attraction which he deduced from the law of physical attraction.

Saint-Simon reconstructed society on a new basis. He substituted for the social hierarchy, which after the Revolution had remained the same as before 1789, three classes composed respectively of manufacturers (*industriels*), savants, and artists, corresponding to the principal faculties of the human mind. He placed spiritual power in the hands of the *savants*, and bestowed temporal rule upon the propertied, manufacturing and commercial classes, and, desirous of putting an end to the struggle between the body and the mind which had resulted from misapprehension of the doctrines of Christ, he preached a new religion.

Saint-Simon had considerable influence upon the majority of the great minds of his time; among others, upon Augustin Thierry. The disciples of his school naturally carried the ideas of their master to extremes, and starting from the principle "To every one according to his capacity, and to every capacity according to its works," they arrived at the abolition of inheritance and every privilege of birth, and finally at community of wives.

Proud'hon ("De la Propriété," 1840–41; "Contradictions Économiques," 1846–49), who was a remarkable writer and polemical genius, sought, like Saint-Simon, a remedy for the evils worked by the modern transformation of industry. He found it in unmixed individualism. "Absolute equality of conditions," he said, "is the supreme law of humanity." The right of property should be replaced by a simple right of possession. Inheritance should be preserved, but plurality of inheritances forbidden. A government is necessary in order to maintain this ideal equality among all members of society, and this government should be Anarchy. "Legislative power belongs only to reason systematically demonstrated. . . . The science of government belongs by right to one of the departments of the Academy of Science. Every citizen who can address a memorial to the academy is a legislator. The people is the guardian of law, and forms the executive."

Cabet advocated pure communism, which he embodied in a wondrous novel entitled "L'Icarie" (1841).

Pierre Leroux, who had a deplorable influence over George Sand, desired that property should not be divided, but used in common. He imagined a family in which the wife should no longer be subordinated to the husband or the children to the father, and a State wherein there might be no political power. He also desired to obliterate the difference, so marked in Christianity, between heaven and earth. Future life was to consist in an infinite repetition of terrestial existence without personal identity and without memory. Leroux's principal works are "L'Humanité" (1840); "De la Ploutocratie" (1848); "Du Christianisme" (1848).

Louis Blanc ("Organisation du Travail," 1839; "Cathéchisme des Socialistes," 1849) did not rise so high. He contented himself with advocating national workshops as a remedy for the sufferings of the unemployed, in the belief that the irresistible competition thus created would lead perforce to the closing of private factories. He maintained that the same system should be applied to agriculture, and proposed the abolition of collateral inheritances.

POLEMICS AND ORATORY.

All the great questions which agitated the public mind at this period—whether religion, social problems, freedom of ritual, of the press, of instruction, the charter, the organisation of the electoral system, revolutionary principles or absolutism—were discussed with identical ardour and intensity in polemical pamphlets, in parliamentary and university centres, and even in the pulpit.

Joseph de Maistre, with his vehemence, his close dialectics, and his transcendent irony, lent authority to the ultramontane section, and worked out the idea of providence which he had first stated in his "Considérations sur la France." He defended the authority of the Church, by which he meant one power only, that of an infallible Pope ; and was equally a partisan of royalty, which he wished to have absolute, without limit or control. In "Le Pape" (1819) and "Les Soirées de St. Pétersbourg" (1821), he attacked with eloquence the philosophy of the eighteenth century, a period to which, by a strange contrast, he belonged himself, in virtue of his style and his abstract, reasoning turn of mind.

Lamennais, on the contrary, was a true Romanticist. He first perturbed his contemporaries by his "Essai sur l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion" (1817), which was an endeavour to demonstrate the philosophical truth of Catholicism against heretics and unbelievers, and he ended by shaking all beliefs. Together with Montalembert and Lacordaire he preached ("L'Avenir," 1830) democracy joined to religious theocracy; then in "Les Affaires de Rome" (1836) he attacked the Pope for being too much occupied with temporal matters, and demanded full political and religious liberty in "La Séparation de l'Eglise et de l'État. In "Les Paroles d'un Croyant" (1833), which created a profound sensation, he embodied in words by turn vehement and tender, sombre and serene, his dream of a Catholic Democracy, inspired by the true spirit of the gospel, and irreconcilably opposed to a Church or State which could oppress the weak.

Montalembert, in vehement pamphlets, endeavoured to organise a party of Catholic Liberals. After 1830, he became the Catholic champion in the Upper Chamber. He was a fighting orator, alert and energetic in speech, prompt in repartee as in apostrophe, but without depth or originality.

Paul-Louis Courier came to the rescue of the malcontents—always an important party under all forms of government—with a series of pamphlets (1816–22) written in a very pure style of incisive satire, in which he deplores the bitterness and fervour of undisciplined Individualism against society. His love of Greek, and his fine, artistic writings, make of Courier the last representative of true classical spirit.

Armand Carrel, biting and satirical, showed himself in the *National* an indefatigable champion of political liberty, and of the external greatness of France.

Cormenin began as a democrat, to pass later into the service of the Church, to which he devoted his eloquent dialectical gifts. He wrote the "Livre des Orateurs," a work of studied eccentricity, written in a glowing style and full of ingenious remarks.

In the Chambers the struggle between the Royalists and the Liberals, and the explosion of party passion consequent on the Revolution of July, produced a brilliant group of orators.

First came the friends of Madame de Staël, Mathieu de Montmorency, Camille Jordan, the Duke de Broglie, and above all de Serre, who "put the most soul into politics." To these must be added Benjamin Constant, who, unsparing in analysis, devoted his incisive and insolent powers of speech to the support of one thesis: the obligation of the State to defend the rights of individuals, and the claim of individuals to revolt if the State hindered their freedom in the exercise of these rights.

Next came the *doctrinaires*, disciples of Royer-Collard, the apostle of legitimacy, whose slow speech and solemn, clear, precise eloquence, with its abundance of ideas and sober imagery, exercised an incomparable sway. The orators of this school were eloquent rather than active, and distinguished themselves more in Liberal opposition than when in possession of the government.

Their most distinguished member, Guizot, was dogmatic and sententious, haughty and sometimes bitter, but he produced a great effect by his austere elegance of speech, his energy and authoritative attitude. He defended the middle class, in the exercise of its new power, with all the conviction of an historian who, with the help of documentary évidence, had described the various stages of growth through which the *bourgeoisie* had passed, from the Barbarian invasion until these days when Providence had decreed their possession of the government. He opposed the mounting tide of democracy, with the belief that in so doing he was protecting France in the persons of the middle classes, whose ideas he regarded as the utterances of Reason itself.

Berryer was a powerful improvisatore, of sonorous delivery and authoritative gesture, always ardent, by turns majestic and terrible, and he pleaded the cause of fallen royalty with that peculiar eloquence of the advocate of which the impression fades with the passing moment. This was the characteristic which made Louis Blanc remark that Berryer's "sterile omnipotence stirred up passions which it could not guide."

Casimir Périer, another opponent of revolutionary tendencies, was a passionate and impetuous speaker, inclined to noisy outbursts, to crushing apostrophes, and redoubtable whims of attack.

Lamartine was prodigal of lyrical passages, of highly coloured imagery and melodious sentiment. He delighted his hearers without convincing them, perhaps because his only ambition in debate was to contribute those ideas of justice, generosity, and humanity which are peculiar to poets but do not correspond to the respective interests of political parties.

Thiers, self-willed and autocratic, very shrewd and clear-headed and self-possessed, showed always a great knowledge of affairs, and was convincing through his power of reasoning, his practical common sense, and penetration. He had a great mastery of facts and figures, and could shed a flood of light on the most difficult subjects.

Even the pulpit had its Romanticists in Lacordaire

("Conférences de Notre Dame," 1835 and 1843), a bold and impassioned preacher who held the ear of the crowd by his inspired flights, and his breadth of illustration, as well as by the charm of his attitude, while for the young there was a potent attraction in the wide liberalism of his principles.

The Classicists were represented by Père de Ravignan. He was a measured, sober speaker, an able and persuasive dialectician, large of gesture, ascetic in appearance, and deriving great power from his strong convictions and authoritative character.

PHILOSOPHY.

Dualism reigned also in the serene regions of pure philosophy where electicism was opposed to positivism.

During the revolutionary period, as we have seen, Philosophy remained in a measure subordinated to Physics, thanks to the success of the theories which Condillac had borrowed from Locke and Hume. But under the First Empire, Maine de Biran and Ampère saved Philosophy from persistence in a path which must have led to ruin. Maine de Biran placed the Essence of Being in Will. Ampère demonstrated that Reason is the dominating faculty, since it applies the action of the Will to elements formed by the Senses.

Royer-Collard united Sensation, Will, and Reason in a theory of Consciousness which gave birth to Eclecticism, and this form of philosophy has reigned almost exclusively ever since in all the French schools.

Victor Cousin (" Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien," 1815–

20) gave the name of Eclecticism to everything which was true in the philosophical systems of all countries and all times. He crowned his work by placing an abstract generalisation, the Ideal, above the reality of all individual things. His vast inquiry into the views of all thinkers had, at least, this merit, that it inaugurated the history of Philosophy in France. But without any deep discussion of the subject it is easy to see that a system such as Cousin's is literary rather than scientific, and one may ask whether he, by spreading it everywhere, and availing himself of his eloquence and authoritative position to give it an official stamp, did not contribute more than anybody to suffocate for a long time in France all attempts at original philosophical speculation.

Cousin had a brilliant disciple in Jouffroy, a man of fine perceptions and an accomplished writer, who was the first to recognise the imperfections of the master's doctrine. The axiom, "Phenomena only are the object of immediate consciousness," seemed to him of more than doubtful truth, and he was thus led to proclaim that Man can arrive in himself at the principle which produces phenomena, and this principle Jouffroy named the Ego. In other words, the Soul comes by reflection to an immediate consciousness of Itself.

The failure of Metaphysics to solve the problems of existence and to determine the nature of God and the human soul, induced Auguste Comte to found Positivism ("Système de Philosophie Positive," 1824; "Cours de Philosophie Positive," 1839–42), the starting-point of which he found in the doctrines of Saint-Simon and in that of various physiologists, among others Broussais.

Comte taught that we can only have knowledge of facts through their relation with other facts, and so *ad infinitum*. He consequently denied Causality.

Positivism as a system consists in the Law of the Three States, or, if preferred, the Three Epochs of Thought and Science; namely, the religious period, the metaphysical period, and the scientific period. Therefore its task is to determine the more general relations of the objects of the different sciences.

In his Classification, which is one of the great achievements of human thought, Comte demonstrated that mathematical science is universal, and forms the only foundation of all natural philosophy. Philosophy, then, is summed up in Mathematics.

Positivism, having received the sanction of Littré, exercised a considerable influence over medical men and physiologists in France. It spread mainly in foreign countries, and especially in England, where it found adherents among such men as Stuart Mill, Bain, and Herbert Spencer.

Eclecticism belonged especially to the period we have been considering, through its lofty spiritualism, its historical tendencies, and the elements which it borrowed from other countries, particularly Germany and England.

Positivism is related to Eclecticism more closely than one might think through the mystic and religious colouring which we have found prevailing everywhere, and which mingles so strangely with the utopian ideas of the Socialists. Positivism had a cult, that of great men; it had rites and ceremonies, and in Humanity it had even a God.

ART.

Artists have always sought in literature for their subjects; consequently it is not to be wondered at that Romanticism in the sphere of letters should have produced a corresponding revolution in Art. And since artists are even more impressionable and high-strung than writers, the struggle between the Romantic and the Classical schools in the studios grew to epical proportions. The exaggerations into which both parties fell make the period between 1815 and 1848 one of the liveliest and most curious in the history of French Art.

PAINTING.

In 1815 the Classical school reigned alone. It filled the Institute, dominated the Salon, and monopolised State patronage. The public, from habit, accorded its sole favour to the "coloured bas-relief," as this cold and conventional style has been termed. But already for ten years previously a number of young men, fervent admirers of the word-painting of Chateaubriand, were inspired with the idea of emulating his example on canvas, and began to rise in revolt against the "puppets" in theatrical postures of David and Gros. Géricault, in 1812, painted "An Officer of Chasseurs on Horseback," followed in 1814 by a "Wounded Cuirassier," both vigorous and living works, which yet passed almost unperceived, in spite of the manner in which the painter had realised the beauty and grandeur of the modern soldier. Nevertheless Géricault, with his power of rendering violent movement and strength of expression, had struck the great blow which was to rouse the public from its traditional mood of admiration, and reveal to it a new manner of art. His "Raft of the Medusa" (1819), thanks to its strong originality, its spirited execution, and wild grandeur, produced an indescribable sensation, followed by an angry outburst of opposition. The Classicists quoted against it such examples as Picot's "Cupid and Psyche," or Girodet's "Galatea," but these did not suffice to stem the mounting tide of Romanticism, and the Classicists had to open their ranks to Ingres. This painter had studied in Italy the masterpieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and preached the beauty of the Raphaelesque line. At first he was overwhelmed with abuse, and accused of wishing to carry Art back to its infancy. But as he had already founded a school, and substituted calm enthusiasm for the exaggerations of Géricault, the Classicists began to be glad of his adhesion, and from that moment the Art of Greece and Italy was erected into a barrier against the "barbaric invasion," or, in other words, against the Romanticists.

Ingres had in point of fact been influenced very strongly by the example of the Antique (*vide* "Œdipus before the Sphinx," "Jupiter and Thetis," "Romulus overcoming Arvon"). Later, he was captivated by great historical subjects, such as "Aretîno and the Envoy of Charles V." (1815), "Henry IV. and his Children" (1817); then returned again to mythology, and finally was attracted by religious incidents ("St. Symphorien," painted in 1834, and "Jesus among the Doctors," 1842). He was such a firm adherent of Classicism as to exclude Shakespeare from the group of great men in his "Apotheosis of Homer" (1827).

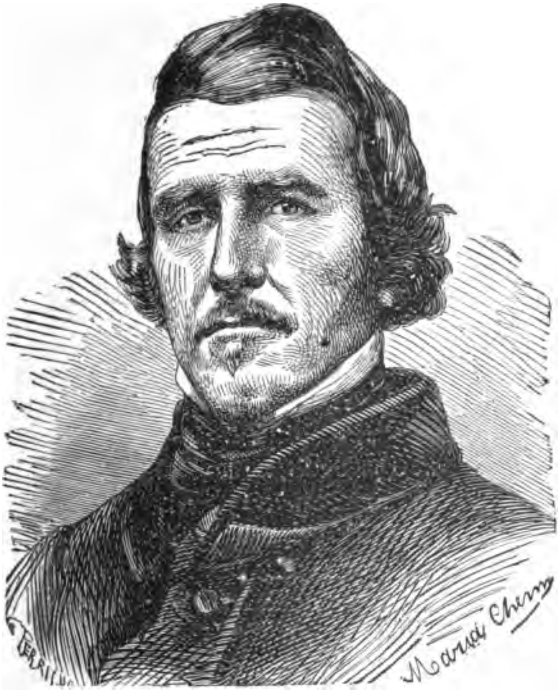
Ingres was a great painter, enamoured of perfection in line and stroke, and he attained to a decorative, almost sculptural, serenity united to a somewhat neutral tone of colour which is not wanting in charm. He excelled in the expression of his faces and in soft outlines of form, but he was cold, and had no feeling for landscape. The seascape in his "Roger and Angelica" (1819) is extraordinarily weak. He might have acted, however, as a counterpoise to Romanticism.

But when Géricault died prematurely he was succeeded by Delacroix. Naturally impetuous, yet full of self-control, the latter was eminently adapted to resist Ingres. The two were in complete contrast. Delacroix, instead of delineating a contour with precision, would indicate a movement, and he gave the *ensemble* of a physiognomy rather than its peculiar lineaments. He excelled in surrounding his personages with dramatic skies, magnificent waves, vigorous sweeps of ground; and, as a colourist, he always sought for glowing effects. His "Dante and Virgil," exhibited in 1822, excited the opposition of the Classical camp, who protested against the painter's abuse of dramatic expression, the exaggeration of his sentiment, and those artifices of composition which, it was alleged, "made all parts of the painting contribute to the rendering of some factitious emotion." The "Massacre at Scio" (1824) placed Delacroix in the position of a party-leader. Of this picture Théophile Gautier wrote: "These horrible scenes, rendered with unflinching brutality, the feverish, convulsive design, the violent colouring and furious brush-work excited the reprobation of the Classicists, and delighted all the young painters by the boldness of a novel method which nothing had taught the public to expect."

Invective was clothed in Homeric metaphors, when as, for instance, Delacroix was accused of daubing his canvasses "with a drunken broom!" But the artist imperturbably pursued his way. For his magnificent series of lithographs from "Faust" he drew his inspiration from Goethe; for "Hamlet" he turned to Shakespeare; and Walter Scott inspired his "Death of the Archbishop of Liège," a tumultuous scene, lighted by the red glare of torches; while the iambics of Barbier suggested "The Barricade" (1831). Delacroix revolutionised the painting of battle-scenes by his representation of the fights at Nancy, Poitiers, and Taillebourg. A journey to Morocco and Algeria suggested the admirable series of pictures, "A Woman of Algiers" (1834), "A Jewish Wedding in Morocco," "Turkish Women at the Bath," "A Lion Hunt," "The Bride of Abydos," "A Moorish Café," and the brilliant "Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople" (1841). To describe a talent so various it would be necessary to cite almost every example, ranging from the "Death of Sardanapalus" and the decorations of the Bourbon Palace and the Luxembourg Library to paintings of animals, such as "A Lion

Devouring a Horse" and "Tigers at Play"; for Delacroix excelled in rendering all styles, all epochs, all climates, and all civilisations.

Equally with Hugo he carried off victories for the Romanticists. He had a novel theory of Art which he formulated in the phrases, "Art exists chiefly through expression." "The value of a work of Art is measured by the amount it reproduces of the sentiment (*émotion*) of its author."



EUGÈNE DELACROIX.

Delacroix's dominating qualities, in fact, were poetic fervour, devouring passion, and the delight of absolutely exhausting the emotion produced in him by the inception of a work. Like Shakespeare he had an insatiable desire for violent and savage emotion joined to the same tragic conception of life, the same lofty and philosophical comprehension of the sadness, the sombreness, and unrest of all living things, whether human or brute. It is this perception which makes the unity and grandeur of his work.

Ary Scheffer belonged to the Romantic party chiefly because of his fanatical admiration for Dante and Goethe. He was a dreamer and a mystic, yet also a philosopher, and has left some remarkable works, such as "Faust and Margaret" (1831), "Faust and Mephistopheles on the Brocken," "Francesca da Rimini" (1835), "The King of Thule," "Jesus the Consoler of the Afflicted" (1837), "St. Monica and St. Augustine" (1846).

Paul Delaroche applied the teaching of Delacroix, with reservations, and was careful not to imitate the master's impetuosity. He has been compared, as a timid Romanticist, to Casimir Delavigne. He painted historical subjects careful in composition, sufficiently dramatic, very correct in the matters of costume and archæology, yet open to the reproach of pomposity and conventionality.

In his line he imitated Guizot and Augustin Thierry. We may cite among his works "The Death of Elizabeth" (1827), "A Scene of St. Bartholomew's Massacre" (1826), "Edward's Children" (1833), "The Murder of the Duke de Guise" (1835).

Delacroix's influence was limited chiefly to artists. He alarmed his contemporaries, and it was left for posterity to do him full justice. The success of Romanticism among the public at large must be chiefly attributed to Horace Vernet, who was gifted with powers of observation, a prodigious memory, and great facility of conception and of execution. Already in 1819 his reputation had been made by his "Massacre of the Mamelukes" and a whole series of pictures relating to the First Empire which have contributed a share to the formation of the Napoleonic legend ("The Dog of the Regiment," "The Trumpeter's Horse," "The Soldier of Waterloo," "The Soldier-Labourer").

Between 1830 and 1833 he produced his finest works, "The Pope's Walk," "Judith and Holofernes," "The Brigand's Confession." A voyage into Africa produced the fine Biblical scenes, "Rebecca and Eleazar," "Hagar and Abraham," "The Good Samaritan," also the charming *genre* pictures, "The Arab's Prayer," "The Desert Sentinel," "A Lion Hunt," and various battle scenes, interesting from the correctness of detail, the diversity of costume, the beauty of the horses, and the charm of the landscapes. Among these the most celebrated are "The Taking of La Smala" and "Episodes of the Siege of Constantine."

Horace Vernet excelled in the art of grouping and the broad treatment of masses.

Decamps painted bright *genre* pictures and dazzling Eastern scenes ("Break-up of a Turkish School," "Halt of Arab Horsemen," &c.). His "Night

Rounds" made a great sensation. He was a fertile and varied painter, and succeeded in deriving original effects from his familiarity with the works of Rembrandt and his acquaintance with the East.

Eugène Deveria left a magnificent painting of the "Birth of Henry IV." (1827), and Hippolyte Flandrin was the author of some fine religious frescoes.

LITHOGRAPHY AND DESIGN.

There has never been in France so brilliant a constellation of draughtsmen as during the Restoration and the July Government. Almost all the great painters produced remarkable lithographs.

Delacroix's works in this line have already been mentioned, and to these should be added the "London Types" of Géricault, the bitter caricatures of Decamps, Jean Gigoux's illustrations to Béranger and "Gil Blas," Johannot's plates to Byron, Walter Scott, and Cooper, to the "Diable Boiteux," to "Don Quixote," to "Manon Lescaut," and to "Faust."

Charlet celebrated the Napoleonic period. His firm and vigorous pencil reproduced such scenes as reach the heart of the multitude in "The Guard Dies," "The Soldier's Alms," "The Emperor and his Guard." He even painted, in strong and sober colours, "An Episode of the War in Russia" (1836), of which De Musset said, "It is Despair in the Desert." After 1830 Charlet devoted himself to passing scenes, and drew caricatures of manners, explaining them by a biting text, many phrases of which have since become proverbial. He was a moralist, with a true and original vision of nature.

Unfortunately, by representing the "Chauvinism" of his grumblers in the light of a favourable contrast to Parliamentarism, he has helped to diffuse among the masses the false idea that liberty and Imperialism were one and the same. His pupil Rafflet followed in the same path. He produced a masterpiece in the "Nocturnal Review" (1848).

Gavarni, original in execution and able in his method, was one of the greatest of French draughtsmen. He travelled indefatigably, and first attracted attention by his Basque interiors, costumes, and manners. Later he did some pretty fashion plates (1830 to 1838), and became a keen and profound observer of Parisian manners. The absurdities, the vices, and the trickeries of the capital found in him the most incisive of satirists. His students, his actresses, his *lorettes*, his *enfants terribles*, his costume balls, his female authors, his men in the street, are not less remarkable for their correct drawing than for the originality and sarcasm of their texts.

Daumier was a creator of types, such as Bastien and Robert, the legendary assassins; M. Persil the magistrate, who is capable of anything which may ensure his success in life; and last, but not least, Robert Macaire. Daumier was incomparable as a painter of the Orleanist *bourgeoisie*, with its legal functionaries, its taxpayers, its landlords and tenants, and its philanthropists. As a political controversialist he was of redoubtable strength. His "Legislative Belly," and the invention of a pear to represent the head of Louis Philippe, contributed not a little to the discredit of the July Monarchy.

Cham was not philosophical like Gavarni, nor politically of importance like Daumier. Rather was he the Paul de Kock of design. He limited himself to reproducing the smaller incidents of the street and of everyday life. His personages are insignificant citizens, nursemaids, and soldiers, but in his line he is unsurpassable.

Grandville was inferior as a caricaturist to the above-named trio of genius. His talent was real, but he pushed too far the style which had first made his success by endowing animals, plants, and even inanimate objects with the physiognomy, the passions and the absurdities of man. He achieved popularity by attacking the House of Orleans and its following in the prints known as "The Funeral Train of Liberty," "The Poultry-yard," and "The Greased Pole." Worthy of mention also are his illustrations of the fables of Lafontaine, and of Béranger's songs and of "Gulliver."

SCULPTURE.

Rude was the revolutionary sculptor of the period. Stone throbbed with life beneath his touch; it became invested with colour. His relief, "La Marseillaise" on the Arc de l'Étoile (1838), is one of the greatest masterpieces of art. As one looks one seems to hear the voice of the terrible goddess, that superhuman call by which she summoned and carried away young and old to the defence of their native soil. One feels tempted to follow in the path along which her imperious gesture has hurled the crowd. But Rude, like Genius itself, is unequal. His statue of Maréchal

Ney, for instance, is theatrical rather than tragic, and the violent attitude of the figure is wanting altogether in grandeur. On the other hand, some of his works, such as "Mercury Binding on his Talaria" (1827) and "The Neapolitan Fisher-boy," are full of classical beauty.

David d'Angers endeavoured to create a national art. His principle was to render the soul of a great man by interpreting his moral side with the help of physiology. He made an interesting innovation in his manner of draping the nude, and from this point of view his statue of Condé (1817) is remarkable. The monument of Bonchamp (1824) and the "Fénélon" (1826) have an interest as being applications to historical statuary of the theory of the sculptor that the decorative details of the basement should all be related to the principal theme.

His masterpiece in this line is the monument to General Foy (1827), set about with the most distinguished men of the period, such as Chateaubriand, Royer-Collard, Casimir Périer, Benjamin Constant, Hugo, &c. Another example is the pediment of the Panthéon, with the innumerable medallions which entitle the sculptor to be described as the historiographer of his time.

Pradier was more essentially classical, and kept up the tradition of elegant grace, purity of line, finish, and voluptuous delicacy. He chose the nude by preference, having a great talent for reproducing the folds of the flesh, and the texture and fineness of the skin. His figures are almost all perfect, good examples being the "Bacchante" (1819), the "Psyche" (1824), the "Three Graces" (1831), "Venus and Love" (1836), "Phryne" (1845), and "Sappho" (1848).

Clésinger was a sculptor of power and energy, but he was very unequal, and failed in carrying out his own colossal conceptions. By a curious contradiction, such of his works as are likely to prove enduring are precisely those which are notable for grace, like the "Woman Bitten by a Serpent" (1847), the "Bacchante" (1848), and busts which in their living, breathing charm are the forerunners of the works of Carpeaux.

Barye is the creator of a whole branch of art. Before his time the sculpture of animals was looked upon as inferior, and the public was only acquainted with the classical lion resting its paw on a ball and looking like a well-bred poodle. Barye's "Tiger Devouring a Crocodile" (1831) was a revelation, and his "Stag Overthrown by two Greyhounds" a triumph. He had studied animals with passion, and his bronzes reproduced not only their forms but their habits and characters. We may cite "A Horse Overthrown by a Lion" (1833), "A Struggle between Two Bears" (1833), "A Dead Gazelle" (1833), and the "Lion with the Serpent" (1833).

ARCHITECTURE.

Romanticism had but little influence on architecture, which during the Restoration and the July Monarchy produced only mediocre works. There is nothing to mention except the continuation and completion of the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile (1836), the commencement of the Madeleine (1842), Visconti's fountains "Gaillon" (1824), "Louvois" (1835), "Molière" (1841), St. Sulpice (1842), and Napoleon's tomb in the Invalides (1842), the work of the same artist.

All architecture was classic, and obedient to the strictest formula of the Académie des Beaux Arts; which was destined for a long time to imitate Greek and Roman monuments exclusively. . It was only in 1837, when the Commission of Historical Monuments was nominated, that a movement of renascence was perceptible, and the habit began of seeking the elements of a new art in buildings on French soil and adapted to French customs and characters. At first religious inspiration prevailed, and this was the sentiment which presided over Lenoir's restoration of the Hôtel de Cluny, and the works of Lassus at St. Germain l'Auxerrois(1856),the Sainte-Chapelle(1840), and Nôtre Dame (1845).

MUSIC.

Musicians were much more affected by the new ideas. Boieldieu was the recognised exponent of the French school. His talent, which was pleasing, graceful, and exhilarating, may be found entire in "La Dame Blanche" (1825), a comic opera which, by increase of orchestration and a florid style of song, formed the connecting link between the purely French genius of Méhu, and the Italo-French school which imitated Rossini.

Hérold is of the same order, possessing qualities of measure, of intelligence, of sober vigour; he sometimes achieves a dramatic effect, but real strength of inspiration is lacking to him. His masterpieces are "Zampa" (1831) and "Le Pré aux Clercs" (1832).

Halévy represents the pompous, conventional, and occasionally imposing style which reigned on the French stage during more than half a century. He is emotional, powerful, and has an instinct of great theatrical effects, but his method is vulgar. Halévy's style is essentially narrative, and "La Juive" (1835), "L'Éclair" (1835), "Les Mousquetaires de la Reine" (1846), and "Charles VI." (1843), furnished historic opera with its most important formulas.

Auber pleases always by his melodiousness and the facile tunes which dwell easily in the memory. Almost all his operas, "La Muette de Portici" (1828), "Fra Diavolo" (1830), "Le Domino Noir" (1841), "Les Diamants de la Couronne" (1841), "Haydée" (1847), have achieved considerable success.

Finally comes Adam, who in "Le Chalet" (1834) and "Le Postillon de Longjumeau" (1846) shows a true gift for collecting and developing popular airs.

Meyerbeer represented eclecticism. In spite of his German origin, his qualities make him one of the great masters of French music. He has the lucidity which the French mind requires in all things, and he has a comprehension of scenic effects and a dramatic instinct. He knows how to take advantage of the orchestra, and to introduce contrasts between the singing of the violins and flutes, and the deep tones of the double basses and the crash of brass instruments. "Robert le Diable" (1831), "Les Huguenots" (1836), "Le Prophète" (1849), exhausted the gamut of feeling. Overpowering passion, melody, dramatic emotion, lofty love, picturesqueness, poetry, fancy—all are there. Meyerbeer, in the universality of his style and the variety of his forms, is a marvellous link between the old and the new schools of music.

The masters of romantic music, Berlioz and Félicien David, achieved a mixture of the Ode Symphony and the Dramatic Symphony; and created a French style which had less movement than the drama, but was less severe than the oratorio.

Berlioz was an ardent student of Weber, Glück, Beethoven, Shakespeare, Byron, and Hugo. His "Symphonie Fantastique"—a vehement, exaggerated composition—was followed by the dramatic symphony "Romeo et Juliette" (1839), and the "Damnation de Faust" (1846), which is the most faithful of all musical transcriptions of Goethe's masterpiece. Berlioz obtained little success at the theatre, as he would not make any concession to stage conventions of which he could only see the paltry side. His "Benvenuto Cellini" (1838) was outrageously hissed in spite of its admirable score and its picturesque fancy. The composer by his combativeness made too many enemies for success, but even when most abused his genius enabled him to exercise an immense influence.

Félicien David was, in a sense, a painter, and the creator of the specialty of musical orientalism. His instrumentation absorbed the attention of his listeners, and he began to make his reputation in 1844 with "Le Desert." We shall return to him after 1848.

SCIENCE.

It would seem as if Romanticism had influenced even Science. For between 1815 and 1848, it is not mathematical but physical sciences which make the greatest progress: that is to say, those sciences which demand the most imagination. Moreover, the resounding war waged between Cuvier and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire recalls combats of the Romanticists and Classicists in the arena of Arts and Letters.

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY.

Cauchy reconstituted entirely the theory of imaginary functions, and his labours resulted in the most striking progress which mathematical analysis has accomplished in this century.

Leverrier resumed the calculation of planetary inequalities. He defined the irregularities of the earth's motion round the sun; completed the theory of Mercury; continued the theory of the motions of Venus, and calculated the inequalities of Mars. He also found the solution of the perturbations of Uranus, and, by pure calculation, made the marvellous discovery of the planet Neptune which, exactly in the spot indicated by Leverrier, was perceived by a German astronomer on the 23rd of September, 1846.

PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

Biot busied himself chiefly with the science of Optics. He made some able observations in this branch, and reduced to clear and precise laws the facts which he and his predecessors had collected (Biot's Laws). He also measured the velocity of the propagation of sound in solid bodies. His "Treatise on Experimental and Mathematical Physics" (1816) was in its time a standard work.

Fresnel in 1820 invented the lens known by his name, and, in conjunction with Arago, the lantern furnished with concentric wicks which was first used in the lighthouse of Cordouan (1823).

Ampère, whose mind was of a far-reaching, philosophical grasp, conceived the idea of a general classification of the sciences, an immense chart of human knowledge drawn up so logically that each science should be placed closest to that other with which it had the most analogy. In this way families, branches, and reigns were defined in a manner similar to that employed by Jussieu for plants and Cuvier for animals. But this enormous effort of thought was surpassed by Ampère's labours in the field of electro-magnetism. In 1820 he discovered the fundamental truth that electric currents mutually attract and repulse one another. The fact thus established has had far-reaching results on the discovery and application of mechanics. Ampère solved at once all electro-dynamic problems by reducing them to questions of calculation (*vide* mechanicism of currents). He invented the galvanometer, and with Arago undertook experiments on the magnetisation of soft iron, which gave rise to a number of machines, among others the telegraph-printer, electro-magnetic motors, interruptors, and electric clocks. His theory of electric magnets destroyed the old hypothesis of two fluids, and proved the electrical nature of magnetism. A final discovery, completed in 1832 by Faraday, resulted in the production by magnets, of the dazzling electric light.

Arago, whose share in the labours of Fresnel and

Ampère has already been mentioned, was the author of the theory of undulations, by which the analogy between waves of light and sound was made evident. He also explained the scintillation of stars, and made some important researches into the maximum tension of vapour of water at an elevated temperature, besides inventing the photometer.

Balard, by his discovery of bromine (1826) associated with chlorine and iodine, started that idea of "families of simple bodies" which was epoch-making in the history of chemistry.

Before Balard, said J. B. Dumas, "elements were considered independent of one another, but since the discovery of bromine it is clear that they form natural families, and that when any member of the family is still unknown, one may yet predict that it will eventually be found and all its qualities with it."

Balard also discovered the mode of utilising, in order to obtain sodium and potassium, the sediments of saline waters which up to his time had gone to waste (1830 *et seq.*).

Chevreul studied fatty substances, dividing them into stearine, margarine, oléine, and showing how their acids could be applied to industry. One result of this has been the candle which has replaced the tallow dips and wax-lights of old; while margarine has been applied to the creation of artificial butter in the large quantities known to modern enterprise. Chevreul's name is further associated at this period with valuable discoveries in relation to colour. His lectures on "Chemistry applied to Dyeing" date from 1831, and those on "The Simultaneous Contrast of Colours" from 1839.

NATURAL SCIENCES.

The great naturalists of the preceding period still occupy the scene. Lacépède published in 1827 his "Natural History of Man," and in 1830 his "Ages of Nature."

Cuvier in 1816 published his "Animal Kingdom" —a summary of his views on the distribution of the animal kingdom as founded on organisation—a work which formed the starting-point of a multitude of later researches. He terminated his magnificent career by publishing the "Natural History of Fishes" (1828), and the "History of Natural Sciences" (1830–33).

Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire published the "Philosophy of Anatomy" in 1818–22.

The great event of the period was the debate in 1830, between Cuvier and Saint-Hilaire, on the unity of organic composition in all animals.

The scientific world of Europe followed the various phases of the discussion with rapt attention. Saint-Hilaire maintained that the unity existed and was of the greatest philosophical importance; while Cuvier replied that reasoning in Natural History is productive only of sterile hypotheses.

Saint-Hilaire argued that germs are not pre-existent, but form and develop themselves, and that the animals alive to-day have descended through an uninterrupted series of generations from the lost animals of the antediluvian world. Cuvier retorted that if species have changed by degrees some trace should be found of these gradual modifications. He admitted that there might be some very small number of structural plans in the infinite variety of anatomical forms, but he absolutely rejected the idea of unity. In a word, the discussion was yet another form of the eternal battle between analysis and synthesis.

Élie de Beaumont was the inventor of Stratigraphy. Together with Brochant de Villiers and Dufrénoy he drew up, between 1826 and 1844, the magnificent "Geological Chart of France."

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

The period is not distinguished by any great anatomical discoveries. Comparative anatomy progressed, and still more did histiology, to which a great impulse was given by the microscope constructed in 1824 by Chevalier.

Physiology made rapid strides, thanks to Magendie's researches into morphine, strychnine, quinine, iodine, prussic acid, &c. He exploded the ancient ideas about animism and vitalism, and proclaimed the truth that experimental methods alone can demonstrate physiological laws.

Flourens, by a series of experiments on the nervous system, in 1825, evolved some remarkable theories on the seat of consciousness ; and to his valuable studies on Embryogeny (1836) we owe an extended knowledge of the relations between physiology and medicine.

Among the great doctors of the time are Bouillaud (diseases of the heart), Louis (fever and phthisis), Trousseau (fever) ; and in the list of great surgeons are Dupuytren, almost as renowned for his bluntness, his originality and his display, as for his professional capability and his profound knowledge; and Velpeau, who was the first author in France of a "Manual of Anatomical Surgery" (1825–26); while celebrated in the region of medical jurisprudence was Orfila, who wrote a "Treatise on Poisons," published in 1815, and a work on "Legal Medicine" in 1821–23.

Seeking now to generalise our conclusions and define the dominating character of the fertile, complex and busy period we have been studying, we see that the revolt of Romanticism against the philosophical spirit of the eighteenth century produced a religious revival which, up to 1848, inspired poetry and fiction, parliamentary debates, pamphleteering, sociological Utopias, and philosophical dissertations.

But when religion is made the subject of free discussion, its essence, which is faith, vanishes. And in point of fact all this great tide of religion, which did not spring from the soul, but was of merely literary origin, disappeared abruptly in the Socialist explosion of 1848, like a river which is suddenly engulfed.

On the other hand, however, the triumph of Romanticism in the domain of ideas completed the revolution which, in 1789, had been accomplished on the social side.

The overthrow of Classicism was the end of a secular tradition. History arose and taught the world that political forms are not immutable, but may be attacked in the very elements which have contributed to their creation, and that the only direction which they take is determined by the hazard of brute force —the brute force of united material interests. Here we have a sufficient explanation of the violent excesses which marked the struggle between Romanticists and Classicists.

The contending parties instinctively felt that the consequences of victory would reach farther than the triumph of such or such a formula of art. A mass of contradictory, and therefore subversive, ideas cannot be hurled with impunity into the minds of the multitude. These ideas were destined to germinate, and after destroying Absolute Monarchy (which is Political Classicism), they uprooted Constitutional Monarchy, and finally led to the triumph of Cæsarism, which is the political incarnation of Romanticism.

"It is not liberty which is new in France," said Madame de Staël, "but tyranny."

XI.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

(*February* 24, 1848—*December* 1, 1851.)

AFTER the Revolution of 1789 no event has been so far-reaching, or so fraught with political and social consequences to France, as the Revolution of 1848. All Europe was affected by the nationalist and democratic spirit which now awoke after the long repression dating from 1815.

The period, then, is one which deserves that we should briefly describe the state of French society on the 24th of February, 1848, and the principal characters of a movement which, without being accompanied by any wars comparable to those of the first Revolution and the Empire, yet extended beyond the frontiers of France, roused first Italy and then Germany, and is largely responsible for the political institutions of both countries.

The French nobility no longer existed, for the old families had not recovered from the blows inflicted in 1789, and the new creations made by Napoleon not only had failed to take root in the nation, but had also been unable to preserve their newly acquired wealth from the havoc worked by the laws of succession. The majority of titled persons had rallied round Louis-Philippe as they would have done round any other government, for the reason that they were eager for posts and salaries. A minority only, faithful to legitimacy, had entrenched themselves in a dignified, if sulky, opposition to the younger royal branch. Neither on one side nor on the other was there any appreciable social influence on which any government could place reliance.

The clergy were not more influential than the nobility, for their attitude and their claims during the reign of Charles X. had caused them to be mistrusted by all true Liberals. They had begun now to detach themselves from the monarchical party, partly because they had been injured by their close alliance with the last of the Bourbons, and partly because, prescient, if unconsciously so, of the social evolution which was to mark the middle of the century, they began to drift towards the masses who were henceforth to be the source of power. The most intelligent members of the priestly party hoisted the Liberal flag; but since nothing could be more opposed to the disciplined hierarchy of the Roman Church than liberty, it is evident that the new move was simply an effort to recover ancient power. The priests had not been able to resign themselves to the loss of their former political preponderance, and hoped for better times in the immediate future. To realise this hope they consented to flatter popular passions, but no sooner did these turn against them, no sooner did they perceive a possibility of invoking secular aid for the recovery of their power, than they unanimously deserted the Liberal camp and returned at once to the cause of authority. The middle classes were no longer what they had been in 1830. The *bourgeoisie*, qualified electors and National Guards alike, after three fruitless experiments, had at last awakened to the fact that they were rather simple and even rather vain in imagining that they could install a Representative Monarchy in Revolutionary France. Liberals had failed to find, under the monarchy of July, the progressive satisfaction of their desires which they had expected, since the normal course of development of the principles of 1830 had been abruptly cut short in the middle of the reign. Other classes, and especially the electors, whose great preoccupation was to have material security, or, in other words, whose chief characteristic was an unyielding egotism, had lived too long in the midst of riots and alarms, and in the fear of unknown dangers, to feel any great attachment for the Orleans dynasty.

Consequently the revolution of the 23rd of February excited some sympathy for the cause of electoral reform, but was met on the other hand by a total indifference to the form of government.

As to the proletariate, the peasantry were sceptical on the subject of pure politics, but their temperament and the revolutionary origin of their property inclined them to theories of equality; while the artisan, who alone perhaps still nourished a living political faith in the midst of general lassitude, was growing each day in importance with the progress of industrial enterprises, and, finding the economical vicissitudes of his existence already hard to bear, aspired to the rights of citizenship so that he might defend his own interests and thus undertake a task which, as he conceived, everybody else had neglected. The *bourgeoisie* or middle classes then accepted the Republic in this sense, that they desired no longer to waste their time or their strength in supporting ephemeral privileges behind which to shelter themselves; the peasantry accepted it because, while satisfying their preference for equality, it allowed them to sell their wheat and their cattle in peace; and the artisan not only accepted, but ardently desired it, because he thought it promised the dawn of social regeneration.

Consequently it was with the general, not to say unanimous, consent of all classes that on the 26th of February the Provisional Government proclaimed a Republic.

But what form was this Republic to take? Every sort had been tried during the first Revolution, and the only difficulty was to choose between so many models.

Chance succeeded where human wisdom might have failed. On the 24th, in a long speech, delivered in the Chamber which was filled with people, Lamartine had proposed that the Provisional Government should summon to a national consultation the whole country—"yes, every man who as a man was entitled to be considered a citizen." And thus it came about that France passed abruptly from an electorate of two hundred and fifty thousand individuals to one of ten millions. A decree of the 4th of March established that all Frenchmen who had attained the age of twenty-one and could prove six months' residence in a commune should be entitled to vote.

This was universal suffrage, unadulterated and direct, carrying with it the obligation for each elector to choose, not one deputy, but the whole list for his department, and conferring upon him at the same time the power to select these representatives wherever he liked, among the poor or the rich—since deputies were henceforward to be paid twenty-five francs *per diem*, and consequently no longer needed a property qualification. An improvised measure of such proportions was alarming. Real Republicans like Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and others, knowing the ignorance of the country, felt uneasy. Later some consolation was derived from a witticism. "To punish M. Guizot for having refused the assistance of men of ability, the assistance of all men of inability has been decreed at a stroke," said some one.

Meanwhile joyful preparations were being made everywhere for the elections, which had been fixed for the month of April, a date necessitated by the time required to register the names of all the new electors. The Republicans marched boldly to battle, resolute to do what in them lay to make up for the ignorance of the mass. Catholics and Legitimists awaited the result of the elections with confidence being convinced, although wrongly, that the country was with them; and the Bonapartists were also in good spirits, feeling sure, and not without grounds, that, in certain country districts, the Napoleonic legend was still sufficiently vigorous to afford them some advantage. The Orleanists alone were depressed, but that was not surprising in a party so recently defeated.

The elections passed off amid almost religious calm and general enthusiasm. Out of 900 members to the National Assembly 100 proved to be Legitimists, and the remaining 800 were either Republicans or so-called Republicans, of whom the majority, however, were incontestably moderate.

But by the 4th of May, when the first meeting took place, the situation was already radically changed. Nothing could have testified better to the generosity, one might almost say the candid simplicity, of the Provisional Government than the series of decrees issued between the 24th of February and the end of April. The abolition of death sentences for political offences; annulment of all current processes and punishments against political offenders; the suppression of the heavy stamp duty imposed on newspapers; the abrogation of the Press Laws of the 9th of September, 1835; the emancipation of slaves in the colonies; the facilitation of naturalisation for foreigners—such were the various measures which proved how strong was the impulse in all men of feeling heart, not only to relieve the nation of laws from which they had themselves suffered, but also to bestow new and precious privileges upon humanity.

The simplicity of these same men betrayed itself in the decree of the 8th of March, by which the National Guard, constituted with some care under the preceding Government, was suddenly enlarged so as to admit all Frenchmen between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five years, at the risk, naturally, of arming all the worst members of the population.

Yet another example of the same sort was the celebrated manifesto to the Powers of Europe (4th of March) wherein Lamartine announced that the International Treaties of 1815 had ceased to exist legally for the French Republic, but that "the prudence of the Republic was for Europe a better and more honourable guarantee than the letter of treaties which had been so often violated or modified." And when, some days later, there was urgent need of money, both to supply the deficit of the Treasury for the payment of bonds and to reimburse the depositors in the savings bank who had been seized with panic, and the Government ordered that imposts should be paid in advance, that direct taxation should be increased by one half, and an additional sum raised by taxing mortgages, the honest but ingenuous authors of these plans were absolutely stupefied at the unfavourable reception which they met with from the public.

Other difficulties awaited them, more serious even than financial ones. Under cover of the new laws on the Press, a number of journals had been founded, some of which were very violent and espoused socialistic or, even, communist opinions. Moreover, the clubs which had existed during the first Revolution had been revived, and among their members were not only dreamers, but also the most renowned conspirators of the July Monarchy, who were engaged in perfecting their organisation by instituting, under the name of Club of the Clubs, a central authority intended to control all the political associations of the capital. Thus the machinery for popular manifestations and even risings was ready, while military support could be obtained from the National Guard. As a point of fact, various street tumults took place. One, on the 16th of March, was caused by discontent at the dissolution of the *compagnies d'élite*, or picked troops of the National Guard. On the 17th another was got up to demand the adjournment of the election to the Assembly, which, it was feared, might be reactionary; and this was followed, on the 16th of April, by a further rising which had for object to signify that if a majority of Monarchists were returned, recourse would be had to arms. And as the Provisional Government, by entering into negotiations, and sometimes giving way, developed by degrees in the rioters a consciousness of their own power, only a good opportunity was needed to provoke a real insurrection, and this was soon furnished by the growing agitation about social questions.

For several years past the Socialists had taught that the first duty of the State was to furnish work to those in need of it, and to organise this same labour in such a way that every worker might each day have time sufficient for education and repose. This doctrine formed the subject of a work of Louis Blanc's which appeared in 1839, under the title of "Organisation of Labour," and gave currency among the proletariate to the idea that a simple law was all that the problem needed for solution.

The Provisional Government, to a certain extent also dominated by Socialist ideas, but still more impelled by the circumstances of the moment, had taken two very grave resolutions. On the 27th of February it instituted national workshops, wherein for a small but fixed wage the numerous artisans whom the economical crisis had thrown out of work were formed into gangs and employed in earthworks; and on the 28th it opened in the Luxembourg Palace, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, a kind of working man's parliament, composed of two hundred delegates from the different trades who were to prepare a project for the organisation of labour to be presented to the Constituent Assembly.

The conferences held at the Luxembourg Palace resulted in some practical suggestions of reform, but, above all, in a vast exposition of theoretical views. Among the first class may be mentioned the foundation of several co-operative associations for production, and the decree of the 2nd of March, which set a limit to the hours of daily labour in factories, and made the hiring of workmen by middlemen for profit illegal.[1] It was found, however, impossible to apply this decree.

As to the theoretical views, they assigned to the future the task of attacking financial feudalism and bridling competition, suggesting, as means to these ends, associations of workmen and the disinterested intervention of the State. The State, for instance, was to buy up mines, railways, and canals, and to carry on agricultural enterprises, with the double

[1] Middlemen hired workmen for masters in return for a fixed sum to be paid by the workmen out of their wages.

object of occupying the unemployed and diminishing the profits of landlords and shareholders. Banks and assurance companies were also to be nationalised; the State was to institute a system of commercial and territorial credit, exchange was to be regulated by marts where no middlemen should intervene, sale prices were to be fixed, and ruinous competition in this way averted.

Of all these ideas not one received a practical application, but they constituted a programme which, in its essence, is still that of the present-day Socialists. And although Louis Blanc and his friends carefully repudiated recourse to violence, the richer classes began to feel alarmed.

As to the national workshops, the suggestion was not entirely novel. Elizabeth's Poor Law, the "cahiers" of 1789, the Decrees of the National Convention, all proclaimed a desire to find work for the able-bodied and to provide for the weakly. The thought was a generous one, but extraordinarily difficult to carry out, since to proclaim the right of everybody to means of subsistence was to impose upon the State the obligation of providing work and aid in inverse proportion to the prosperity of the market and the wealth of the Treasury.

The events of 1848 revealed that which those least gifted with foresight ought to have foreseen. The number of workmen who applied in a few weeks to the national workshops was more than one hundred thousand. Real work for all was not to be procured, and recourse was had to interim salaries for the unemployed, who thus, like the true workers, lived at the expense of the State, and, becoming accustomed to this comparatively easy life, naturally inclined to resort to revolutionary methods the day on which the harassed Government was driven by want of money to cease from its costly experiment.

In spite of these various measures, which were preparing trouble for the future, but of which the ill effects were not immediately visible, the National Assembly was justified in declaring solemnly on the 8th of May that the Provisional Government had deserved well of the country. It had, in fact, succeeded in preserving order without bloodshed at a moment when all the public departments were disorganised. Unfortunately this peaceful state of affairs was not destined to continue.

While awaiting the vote on the future constitution, the Assembly assigned executive functions to a Committee of Five (May 10), namely Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru-Rollin, none of whom were Socialists. The resolute exclusion of this party from power irritated a considerable portion of the Parisians, and caused the Assembly to be suspected of reactionary tendencies. On the 15th of the same month, on pretence of demanding that the Government should encourage the Polish insurrection, a procession invaded the Legislative Chamber, and had to be dispersed by the National Guard. This incident had a disturbing effect on everybody. The Assembly was alarmed at being at the mercy of the mob. It suspected the Executive of weakness, perhaps of complicity. At the same time it caused uneasiness to foreign powers by expressing (May

24) the wish that Germany might be united, Poland and Italy freed, and simultaneously roused apprehensions in the more advanced sections of the Parisians by demanding that measures should be taken against the leaders of the recent demonstration.

A grave mistake of the Assembly and a serious error of judgment on the part of the Executive, combined to precipitate events. The Assembly was anxious to close the national workshops, which it regarded as costly and dangerous, and while always protesting that the operation should be carried through by degrees, it lost no opportunity of attacking the Government on the subject. The Executive first hesitated, then wildly decided all at once, on the 21st of June, that all workmen between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five should be peremptorily ordered to choose between military service and dismissal from the workshops, while older men should receive assistance towards obtaining employment in the provinces.

This abrupt determination—to which effect began to be given on the very following day—caused great popular excitement. The National Guard made common cause with the regular troops in the wealthier quarters, but in the poorer quarters it sided with the insurrectionists. On the 23rd there were barricades all over Paris; on the 24th the Assembly proclaimed the state of siege, accepted the resignation of the Five, and handed over all executive functions to General Cavaignac, the Minister of War.

During four days a sanguinary battle raged, and although Cavaignac was eventually victorious, his triumph left an inexorable resentment in the hearts of the people, and the Assembly inflicted a death-blow upon its own popularity by decreeing the exile of several thousand insurgents (June 27).

Cavaignac had long been well known for his Republican opinions, consequently the events of the month of June, although rendering him victorious over revolutionary socialism, failed to ensure for him the support of the middle class and provincial populations, who, terrified, were determined to find a saviour of some sort.

Cavaignac did all that was in his power to re-establish public order, and to maintain, it with the help of a moderate Ministry formed from members of the Left. At his suggestion the guarantee was once more exacted from all newspapers, clubs and meetings were only licensed when their organisers had made satisfactory declarations to Government, and members of the Assembly who appeared to have encouraged the recent risings were put upon their trial.

But Cavaignac was as firm in repressing the propaganda of Royalists and Bonapartists as of Revolutionists. Consequently when the Bonapartists, feeling the approaching reaction, began to recover confidence, and when Prince Louis-Napoleon succeeded in getting himself returned at a bye-election, the Assembly, which had at first supported Cavaignac and his policy, commenced to find fault with him and to lower him in public estimation.

Such was the situation when the Constitution of the 4th of November, 1848, was promulgated. This

Constitution, born in the midst of storms, showed on the part of its originators extraordinary ignorance of the essential conditions of public life. The preamble recited the rights and duties of the citizen, and if the Assembly had not yet the courage to proclaim every man's right to work, it affirmed at least his right to assistance. The Constitution provided a Council of State, for the elaboration of projects of law, which the Legislative Chamber was to elect for six years. The Chamber itself was composed of 750 members, elected for three years by universal, direct suffrage, the voting to be by departmental ballot. The Assembly fixed the date and duration of its own sessions, and could not be dissolved before the expiration of the specified time.

The President of the Republic—for there was no longer any talk of a committee as head of the Executive—was also to be elected by direct, universal suffrage for four years, at the end of which period he would be no longer eligible. He was empowered to name and dismiss his ministers, who, on their side, were to be as responsible as himself.

Not content with having instituted a Single Chamber and given to the head of the State an electoral basis wider than that of the Chamber itself; not content with having given permanency to the Assembly and roused the ambition of the President by forbidding his re-eligibility, nor with having endeavoured to reconcile two irreconcilable responsibilities, that of the head of the State and that of his ministers, the Constitution of 1848 further rendered all revision of its work a quasi-impossibility, by decreeing that motions for revision should be voted three times with an interval of a month between each vote, by a majority of three-fourths of the Chamber, and that even then the revision should be made by a specially constituted body.

Such measures appeared lightheartedly designed for breeding unappeasable dissensions, and among them all none was more fraught with danger than the method appointed for electing the President. He was to be chosen by an enormous popular vote, and in a country like France, with a highly centralised Government and an electorate but little accustomed to the exercise of its political rights, he could not fail to think himself superior to an Assembly which offered no real counterpoise to his authority.

But no argument availed to convince the Assembly of the danger it was incurring. "We must trust to Providence," cried Lamartine, in a fine oratorical outburst; and not even the simple precaution was taken of declaring ineligible to the Presidency any member of the families which had reigned over France.

And there was one Prince whose ancestors had ceased to reign long enough for their virtues alone to be remembered, whose name recalled both a period of military glory and a period of revolution, while seeming at the same time to combine the traditions of equality so dear to all Frenchmen, and the autocracy which is welcome at moments of social trouble and political indecision. This Prince Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Louis one time King of Holland, and nephew of the Great Napoleon—was

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Napoleon I. had been proclaimed Emperor by the nation, because he appeared the supreme personification of that civil equality which the forces of reaction were endangering; and similarly Louis-Napoleon was made President for the sake of preserving the political equality which had been only recently acquired. If this acquisition were threatened in its turn, then the Prince-President had but to make a sign to become Emperor himself. And the opportunity for this transformation was soon to be afforded him by the divisions and hatreds between all parties, by the weakness of the governing classes and the growing lassitude of the country. While awaiting this inevitable consummation, he showed great dexterity in ingratiating himself with men of the day, and making use of them all without committing himself with any of them. He knew how to turn any loss of credit in others to his own advantage, and gradually built his power on the ruins of liberty.

The Constituent Assembly survived the election of the 10th of December a few months, and passed various laws on the Council of State, the mode of proceeding to elections, and other things necessary to the machinery of government. Louis-Napoleon was installed as President, and chose for his first Cabinet, on the 30th of December, men who were members of the old dynastic Left during the reign of Louis-Philippe. The Premier was Odilon Barrot, whom the last king had called upon to save the crown when it was already too late. But the dynastic Left had changed in the twelvemonth since 1847, and when the Cabinet instituted new proceedings against secret societies, and introduced a law prohibiting clubs, it found itself on several occasions in a minority. So far from resigning, however, it presided at the general election on the 13th of May, 1849. These elections, which differed widely from those of the preceding year, returned a Legislative Assembly of singularly mixed element. Moderate Republicans were reduced to about eighty members, while the advanced section obtained 180 seats. Paris, Lyons, the greater number of the large towns, and even the army, on which votes had been conferred by the new electoral law, returned Extreme Radicals. There were 450 Monarchists elected, but they represented all shades of opinion as to what particular monarch they would prefer to see on the throne of France, being some of them Bonapartists, others Legitimists (more numerous than formerly), and the greater number Orleanists, although among these again there were not sufficient to form a majority in Parliament.

Louis-Napoleon took little pains to apply parliamentary rules as to choosing ministers whose views were in accord with those of the nation's representatives. Just as he had formed his Cabinet of the 30th of December of members of the minority then existent, so now (June 2, 1849) he manœuvred in a way to ensure the admission into this same Cabinet of some of those Moderate Republicans who were so sparsely represented in Parliament, but whom he desired to reassure as to his intentions. He was soon to unmask himself entirely in a matter which, although it concerned foreign relations chiefly, was yet of a nature to cause intense excitement at home.

In 1848, Pope Pius IX., whose Prime Minister was Rossi, a former Liberal peer of Louis-Philippe's, believing the Legations to be threatened with an invasion by Austria, addressed to Cavaignac a prayer for military help, which, refused at first, was accorded later when Rossi had been assassinated during a rising of the Roman people (November 15, 1848).

The French troops, however, did not leave before the election of Louis-Napoleon, and when, some weeks later, the Pope fled to Gaeta and the Romans had deposed him as King and declared for a Republic (February 9, 1849), the question of French intervention remained as it was.

The position of the Prince-President in this business was peculiar. In his youth he had fought against the Temporal Power; in the Assembly he had opposed Cavaignac's project, but now that he was the Head of the State he felt the necessity of conciliating Catholics. His own wish would have been to withdraw into the background while urging on Piedmont to assist the Holy See. But Piedmont had inopportunely undertaken a war against Austria, and after being beaten at Custozza (July 25, 1848), and again at Novara (March 23, 1849), the King, Charles Albert, had hastened to abdicate.

France was now forced to take up a decisive attitude. The clearly expressed desire of the Assembly, which had not yet separated, was that the Romans might be left to manage their own affairs, but that the French Government should intervene to preserve intact the territory of Piedmont.

The Government obtained supplies without exactly stating what was to be done with them. Then disregarding the opinion of the Chamber, it despatched an expeditionary corps to Civita Vecchia (April 25). Driven back once from Rome by Mazzini and Garibaldi (April 30), the French commander, General Oudinot, besieged the town and marched in at the end of twenty days' fighting (July 2).

By this time the Legislative Assembly had entered upon its functions, and its views were not the same as those of the Constituent Assembly; while, on the other hand, the state of the public mind in Paris was utterly averse to any attempt on the part of a French force to assist the cause of Papacy and absolute rule.

The Cabinet having obtained a vote of confidence from the Assembly (June 11) there was a partial rising in the streets of Paris, which received the support of some Radical deputies, among others Ledru-Rollin. The movement was promptly repressed, but the Government purposely exaggerated its importance so as further to confuse public opinion. A great number of the opponents of the Government were arrested and condemned, and three laws, on the 14th of June, 27th of July, and 9th of August, respectively, were summarily passed against political clubs and the press, and in favour of a state of siege.

The alliance between the President and the majority seemed now complete, but it was not destined to endure. Louis-Napoleon was willing to pass as having repressed the Roman Republic, and even, if necessary, as having restored the Temporal Power, but he was not yet prepared to declare himself inimical to reforms and hostile to Italian liberty. He exacted from Pius IX. the promise that, before returning to the Eternal City, he would make some concessions to the spirit of the age. The Pope, although reluctant, finally assented, whence the so-called *motu proprio* of the 12th of September, by which the Holy Father promised his rebellious subjects, besides an amnesty, that there should be certain ameliorations introduced into civil legislation and the machinery of judicial and local administration, that laymen should be admitted to government offices and a *consulta* created for the voting of taxes.

This *motu proprio* did not satisfy the Romans after their recent taste of the sweets of political autonomy. In Paris, while applauded by some Republican deputies of the Cavaignac school, it gravely displeased the majority of the Assembly, who saw in Louis Napoleon's attitude an attempt to fetter the independence of the Holy See.

The Prince-President was not blind to these sentiments, and he anticipated the outbreak of the inevitable conflict. In his message of the 31st of October, he solemnly affirmed that he shared to the full the responsibility of his ministers, and that he desired a firm and united policy. "The name of Napoleon," he boldly continued, "is of itself a programme signifying order, authority, religion, and the prosperity of the people at home, with national dignity abroad. This is the policy—inaugurated by my election—which I wish to see triumph."

And as if further to manifest his will, he named, without the sign-manual of his ministers, a new Cabinet, which responded to no Parliamentary necessity, but contained, with General d'Hautpoul, the principal men who continued to serve Louis Napoleon after he became Emperor. These men were Fould, Bineau, Rouher, De Parieu, &c. (November 1, 1849).

This step portended imminent war between the President and the Assembly. But Louis-Napoleon was not the man to proceed at once to extremities. He had hardly pronounced his daring message of the 31st of October to the Assembly before he proceeded to restore the reins to the Parliamentary majority.

The Constitution of 1848, like the Charter of 1830, had promised a law on Liberty of Instruction. The Constituent Assembly had intended to make this law very favourable to State inspection of private schools. The Legislative Assembly, on the contrary, made it very favourable to the Catholic Church, to which it even granted an important measure of control over the University. This was the law of the 15th of

March, 1850, which had reference only to primary and secondary instruction. Under this law any private person, any association of laymen or religious congregation, acquired the right to open a school, without being subject to any State inspection outside matters of morality, legality, and hygiene. Nobody could be debarred from imparting secondary instruction, except on the ground of scandal; but the teachers in the primary schools had to be provided with a diploma of capacity, except when, as in the case of sisterhoods, they obtained from their bishop a special certificate, known as a "letter of obedience." The University was left in possession of all its branches of instruction: only, instead of enjoying a monopoly as formerly, it had now to encounter a very active competition[1]; and, while keeping the right to confer degrees, it was forced to admit a great number of priests to its administrative departments and councils of discipline, besides including religious dogmas in its programme.

The University was not, indeed, officially deprived of the direction of primary public instruction, but, thanks to the letter of obedience, it became almost impossible to obtain lay female teachers, and the education of girls fell more and more into the hands of religious. The country, consequently, was buying very dear the most precious of all liberties, and the education of the young was, for long years to come, to be permeated with doctrines essentially opposed to the first notions of freedom.

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[1] In less than a year the clergy founded 257 establishments for secondary instruction, and two years later there were twenty houses governed by Jesuits.

The Parliamentary majority had barely obtained this victory before it began to turn its attention elsewhere.

Some supplementary elections took place in March and April, 1850, in order to fill the vacancies left by deputies who had been condemned for their share in the events of the 13th of June, 1849. Out of thirty-seven seats to be reoccupied, twenty-seven were retained by Republicans and ten fell to Monarchists. Although these ten constituted a net gain for the friends of the majority, much was made in Government and Parliamentary circles of the pretended revival of revolutionary tendencies. Universal suffrage had never been in favour with Monarchists, and while not daring to suppress it, they were determined at any rate indirectly to reduce the number of electors.

By a law passed on the 31st of May, 1850, the period of residence in a commune necessary for a voter was prolonged from six months to three years from the date of his first payment of direct taxes, and this change had the effect of excluding from the franchise almost the whole of the working population, who were, of necessity, nomad. By a stroke of the pen, in short, three millions were disfranchised —that is, 64 per cent. of the electorate of Paris and 29 per cent. of the electorate of the departments.

By this measure, more clearly even than by a new law against the liberty of the Press (July 16, 1850), it was borne in upon the masses, whose aspirations towards equality were rudely wounded, that the Legislative Assembly was dominated by the party of reaction,[1] which needed to make but a few more blunders to complete its loss of popularity and render the Prince-President arbiter of the situation.

These blunders the Assembly did not fail to commit. On separating for the recess it appointed a so-called Permanent Commission empowered to watch the Executive, and as the members nominated to this Commission were all well-known Monarchists, the partisans of Louis-Napoleon adroitly used the circumstance to raise apprehensions in the public mind of a contemplated restoration of the old dynasty, now universally detested.

These apprehensions presently gathered weight from negotiations for a fusion between Orleanists and Legitimists. The Monarchists felt their divisions to be a source of weakness, and when Louis-Philippe died, on the 26th of August, the idea suggested itself of reconciling the younger and elder branches. The Orleans princes showed themselves willing, but on this occasion, as later in 1873, the Comte de Chambord

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[1] The Assembly had appointed a large Commission for the fulfilment of the pledges constitutionally given on the subject of public charity. This Commission, torn between fear of socialism, apprehension of extending immoderately the principle of State intervention, and unwillingness to interfere with the charitable funds of Catholicism, discussed and investigated much, but made few practical suggestions. It was, however, the author of the Acts of 1850 on Sanitary Dwellings, Old Age Pensions, Mutual Aid Societies, Legal Assistance, &c., besides various reforms in the administration of savings banks and hospitals. To the same Commission were also due various projects with respect to the observance of Sunday, the distribution of out-door relief, and medical service in the country ; but these reforms were not carried out before the Legislative Assembly came to an end. The great socialist movement of 1848 thus shrank to insignificant proportions in practice.

—grandson of Charles X.—opposed an invincible refusal to the guarantees demanded of him. He wished to reign in virtue of his hereditary rights, but he declined to state what the nature of his government would be.

The attempted fusion was a failure, but the noise it made caused uneasiness in the country, and facilitated the plans of Louis-Napoleon. These plans consisted in taking up the attitude of a representative of the new ideas as opposed to the agents of the Monarchists, or in appearing as chosen by the popular voice in contradistinction to the elect by Right Divine.

Louis-Napoleon had not yet determined upon the *coup d'état:* he would probably have been content, at any rate for the moment, with the suppression from the Constitution of the clause which forbade his reelection as President on the expiration of his term of office. The rest, that is to say a greater independence with respect to the Assembly, would have come later. In August, 1850, the Prefects, although the subject lay quite outside their competence, were ordered to ask all the Councils-General of the Departments whether the Constitution might not admit of revision. The Councils, although forbidden by the law to engage in political discussions, took the matter into consideration, and fifty-two out of their number declared themselves wholly or in part favourable to the revision, while twelve were against it, and twenty-one abstained from giving an opinion.

At the same time Louis-Napoleon increased his popularity by a series of tours in the provinces, which afforded him the opportunity of making some extremely able speeches, in which he adapted himself to the temperament of the populations in each region, sometimes by affecting a scrupulous regard for legality, sometimes by hoisting the Napoleonic flag, and allowing or managing that "Vive l'Empereur" should be vociferated along his route. At a review of the Army of Paris at Satory, near Versailles, this cry, emitted by some regiments, was at once repressed by General Changarnier, the Commander-in-Chief. In consequence there was some thought of removing Changarnier, who was a Monarchist, and whose presence at the head of the garrison of the capital might, it was felt, become inconvenient. But for the moment such a measure would have been too significant, and the alternative adopted was to set a snare for the general. In the Presidential message, on the re-opening of Parliament on the 12th of November, Louis-Napoleon declared once again his respect for the Constitution; but at the same time a report was cleverly spread that Changarnier desired to deny to the Assembly its perfectly constitutional right of demanding troops for its own security. There was no foundation for such a rumour, and Changarnier, who was a deputy as well as a general, on being questioned in the Chamber, not only denied the report, but plainly said that the Assembly in making the request mentioned would be well within its rights. Louis-Napoleon promptly asserted that such a declaration was contrary to all military discipline, and when re-arranging his Ministry on the 10th of January, 1851, he dismissed Changarnier from his command. It may easily be imagined that such a decision caused a sensation in Parliament.

A discussion, which lasted from the 15th to the 17th of January, caused the resignation of the Cabinet formed on the 10th, but the Prince-President was none the less freed from the incumbrance of Changarnier's presence. He took care not to select his new Ministry among the majority. The Cabinet which met on the 24th was composed of colourless political personages like Schneider, Brenier, Giraud, &c., who were not likely to interfere with him in the pursuit of his personal aims. He spread the rumour, eagerly credited by Republicans, that if the Assembly had shown itself so favourable to General Changarnier, that could only be because it had counted on him for a monarchical *coup d'état* as soon as the right moment came. The President's followers also gave the same colouring to a proposal in the Assembly—which was, however, rejected on the 1st of March—that the decree of exile against the Orleans and Bourbon princes[1] should be rescinded, and the refusal of a request made by the President for a supplementary grant, for expenses incurred in representing the nation, was described as an act of unworthy jealousy.

Louis-Napoleon was, however, not yet prepared to cross the Rubicon. Not knowing how a violation of the Constitution might be received by the country, he wished, very sincerely no doubt, to revise the offensive clause by legal methods. But the Ministers appointed on the 24th of January had not the authority required for a Parliamentary debate of such importance, so on the 11th of April he dismissed them in favour of Léon Paucher, Rouher, Baroche, Fould, Buffet, &c. The complicated formalities necessary for the revision [1] have been described. The Legitimists desired a revision because they believed that they could turn it to the advantage of their cause; but the Orleanists were opposed to it because all they could offer to the country would be a regency during the minority of their Prince. And if some cautious spirits wished by the revision to give a legal colouring to the ambitious projects of the President, the Republicans on the other hand were determined not to vote for the measure as long as the law of the 31st of May, 1850, by which one-third of the electorate had been disfranchised, remained in force.

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[1] The debate on this proposal gave rise to the final division between the Legitimists and the Orleanists. The latter warmly favoured the abrogation of the law of exile, but the former maintained that a Bourbon could not live in France as a simple citizen, and that failing a throne he should accept exile. The Legitimists consequently voted against the Bill with the Republicans.

On the 19th of July the revision was voted by a majority which yet fell short by one hundred of the three-fourths required by the Constitution. From that moment there was certain war between the Prince-President and the Assembly. Already the newspapers favourable to Louis-Napoleon stirred up the animosity of the electorate against the reactionary and anti-democratic law of the 31st of May. Already the Prince in his speeches complained that Parliament always supported him when he had to repress disorder, but never when he desired to improve the condition of the nation.

These methods displeased the Cabinet of the 11th of April, which resigned on the 14th of October, and was succeeded on the 27th by a Ministry composed of very insignificant persons for the most part, but into which Louis-Napoleon had introduced a man of whom he was absolutely sure, General St. Arnaud, the new Minister of War. All he needed now was to find a specious ground of quarrel with the Assembly, and his message of the 4th of November was expressly designed for this purpose. He announced to the Chamber an immense demagogic plot which was to disturb the elections and the ballot for the President in 1852, and he urged the instant abrogation of the law of the 31st of May. There was an evident contradiction between the two parts of this message, but the first portion was intended to alarm the *bourgeoisie*, and the second was a bid for the favour of the masses. In the double character of a representative of public order and a defender of universal suffrage, the Prince-President could henceforth confront the situation without danger to himself.

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[1] See p. 247.

The proposal to rescind the law of the 31st of May was rejected by the Assembly. Similar treatment was dealt out to the demand of the Quæstors,[1] who, beginning to fear a *coup d'état*, had asked that copies of the decree of the 6th of May, 1848, which empowered the President of the Assembly to make requisition of troops, should be posted up in all barracks (November 14 and 17). There was, in fact, no longer a majority of any kind. Sometimes the Monarchists prevailed, and gave a free rein to their hatred against universal suffrage ; sometimes the Republicans and the partizans of Louis-Napoleon took vengeance on the Monarchists by denying them the means of defence against the intrigues of the Executive. Mutual suspicion and weakness paralysed the Assembly, which was discredited in the eyes of the country, and Louis-Napoleon had but one further step to take before becoming master of the situation.

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[1] Quæstors are members of the Chamber elected by their colleagues to superintend the administration and guard the security of Parliament.

During the night of the 1st–2nd of December he appointed his faithful friend De Morny Minister of the Interior. On the morning of the 2nd, after the most prominent deputies had been arrested, a proclamation posted on the walls of Paris announced the dissolution of the Chamber and the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, 1850, and summoned the people to ratify by their votes the measures taken by the Prince-President and the Constitution modelled on that of the Year VIII. which he proposed to confer upon France.

XII.

SECOND EMPIRE, 1851–1860.

First Period: December 2, 1851—*November* 23, 1860.

ON the 20th of December, 1851—when the law of the 31st of May had been rescinded, and the electorate restored to its former condition of universal suffrage—the following form of plebiscite was voted by 7,440,000 votes against 641,000: "The French nation desires the maintenance of Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte's authority, and delegates to him the necessary powers for establishing a Constitution on the basis proposed in his proclamation of the 2nd of December, 1851."

Thus was the *coup d'état* ratified if not legalised. Louis-Napoleon seized the opportunity to bestow upon France a Constitution which guaranteed his own authority against all effective interference. This Constitution, promulgated on the 14th of January, 1852, aped the features of that of the Year VIII. Its preamble stated that it was necessary to revert to the political institutions of the Empire of which the administrative institutions were still in vigour. The parliamentary system was to be suppressed, and its place filled by a Consultative Assembly barely if at all representative.

The President of the Republic would remain responsible to the country, but his ministers would cease to answer for their acts to the Chambers of Legislature.

A Senate, of which the President named the members for life, was to safeguard the Constitution, and, with the consent of the Head of the State, might modify it in detail if not in essentials.

A Council of State, whose component members were also chosen by the President, was empowered to prepare projects of law and to undertake their defence before the Legislative Body. The latter, elected by universal suffrage and uninominal ballot, was deprived of the right either of questioning ministers or initiating any Acts, and could not even suggest amendments to the bills presented by the Council of State, except with the permission of this body.

Such a machinery of government was clearly intended to serve the personal policy of the Prince-President alone. His responsibility to the nation was purely nominal, since he alone had the right of appealing to the people, while they were unable to appeal against him. His ministers became the mere tools of his will. They held no councils: they had not even access to the Chambers, and when the Government wished to defend its own acts, it was reduced to the device of written messages, "inspired" paragraphs in the press, or semi-official pamphlets.

The Senators, who deliberated in secret, had somewhat less authority than their predecessors under the First Empire—since the President, the better to sway them, reserved to himself the right of fixing their salaries at variable amounts.

The Legislative Body, without any real power of control or adequate legislative functions, was even debarred from expressing an opinion, and the only form in which its work could be communicated to the Assembly was a succinct and colourless minute, the very terms of which had been dictated by the President of the Chamber—himself a nominee of the Head of the Republic.

There remained the Council of State, which, strong in composition and functions, was an admirable administrative machine, but in no sense an organ of national life, and it naturally formed no counterpoise to the power of the President. A decree of the 17th of January, 1852, had gagged the press by subjecting it, according to circumstances, to securities, preliminary authorisations, warnings, suspensions, and administrative or judicial suppressions, as well as by denying it the privilege of trial by jury. Two other decrees, of the 10th of January and 2nd of April respectively, forbade *cafés* and wineshops to remain open or the smallest public gathering to be held without a permit from Government, which could be revoked at a moment's notice. Universal silence, in short, was the order of the day—succeeding to a system of free discussion.

All these measures had been taken with the one object of re-establishing the Empire, and although the principle of hereditary monarch is radically opposed to that of responsibility of the Head of the State, this was a small matter when the responsibility was apparent merely, and when all principles and theoretical distinctions had gone by the board. And the transformation aimed at was not long in taking place. As early as the 4th of November, 1852, the Senate was called upon to take the question into consideration; and an ingenious senator, Troplong by name, was found to declare that the Empire would be nothing else but a "crowned democracy"; and on the 21st of the same month, the French people, by a somewhat larger majority than on the 20th of December previously, affirmed the desire to see the Empire "re-established in the person of Louis-Napoleon and his descendants." The Prince-President immediately assumed the title of Napoleon III., although Napoleon II.—King of Rome, the son of the great Emperor—had never reigned, and conferred upon himself, together with an ample Civil List, various rights which the Constitution had omitted to bestow upon him. Among these (decree of the 25th of December) was the power to conclude treaties of commerce, and also to dispose freely of the supplies which the Legislature was to vote annually *en bloc* for each ministerial department.

The docile senators received a uniform salary, and sums were assigned to all the deputies. These measures completed, the Empire became an accomplished fact. The conditions of its existence, however, were totally different from those prevailing at the beginning of the century. Between Napoleon III. and Napoleon I. there was, to begin with, all the difference which can obtain between a man of genius, imperious and masterful, a great soldier and consummate administrator, and a man of mystical, dreamy temperament, tortuous, elusive character, mediocre courage, and undefined intelligence.

Between the institutions of the two periods, again, the opposition was fundamental. Napoleon I., pushing the logic of his system to extremes, had so clearly grasped the functions of an executive as to confide to it the task of forming the Assemblies which, in the capital, in the departments, and in the communes, were to second governmental measures.

Napoleon III., while aspiring to equal power, allowed these Assemblies to be elected by the popular vote, a blunder which very promptly resulted in contradictions and conflicts.

Napoleon I. had been able to make *tabula rasa* of all the political past of the country, since neither under the ancient *régime* nor under the Republic had France enjoyed any real public liberty, but in 1851 the nation had learnt, by thirty-five years of passionate struggle, to take a more active share than formerly in the management of its own affairs, and Napoleon III., in the absence of the military glory wherewith his uncle had dazzled the multitude, was forced, at every crisis, to seek in internal readjustment for the means of repairing injury to vested interests and appeasing the impatient demands of the masses. And these crises were for ever recurring. Besides the ordinary difficulties of every government, difficulties of finance, international relations, and so on, the Empire born of the events of the 2nd of December had embarrassments of its own which were due chiefly to its origin, and to the mutually destructive principles which it had endeavoured momentarily to combine. By the *coup d'état* Napoleon III. had assumed various incompatible attitudes, inasmuch as he professed to be at one and the same time the elect of the sovereign people, a son of the Revolution, a champion of universal suffrage which the Monarchists had attacked, and an adversary of demagogues. In the first of these characters he was bound to justify his elevation by economic and social reforms, and even by pandering to the democratic jingoism which the governments that succeeded to Napoleon the Great had sedulously repressed. In his second character he had to destroy the last trace of political liberty, and to deprive the middle class, the Conservative majority and the Liberal minority alike, of any share in public business, so that he might remain in his own person the supreme and uncontrolled arbiter of the nation's destinies. As long as the masses were satisfied with the Emperor's concessions or the hopes which he held out to them, and as long as the middle classes were a prey to the terrors which they had conceived in 1848, the Empire might be expected to achieve a measure of success; but the day that the masses found themselves deceived in their expectations, and the middle classes saw that their interests were betrayed or their prejudices disregarded, a reaction became inevitable, and the Imperial system was forced by the pressure of public opinion to undergo a process of transformation.

Up to 1860 the Empire remained absolute, but after the Italian war and the treaties of commerce, it was committed to Liberalism and self-destruction.

In the beginning, Napoleon III.—Napoleon the Little as he was nicknamed by Victor Hugo in a celebrated pamphlet—met with an almost unanimous acceptance. If some foreign powers, such as Russia and Great Britain, were inclined at first to fear that France might return to the wars and conquering expeditions of the First Empire, such doubts soon gave way to satisfaction at the thought that the spectre of democracy evoked throughout Europe by the events of 1848 was laid at last; and these congratulations were echoed by Germany and Austria.

In France itself no class desired, and no political party was able, to attack the new Government. The clergy, who had obtained from liberty only a very small part of all they aspired to, hastened to acclaim and obey the Emperor, and even such pretended Liberal Catholics as Montalembert loudly expressed the hope that he would govern to the honour and glory of the Church. And Napoleon's first acts seemed to justify these expectations. He rescinded various decrees of the Monarchy of July, restored the Pantheon to the Church, reappointed chaplains to the army, admitted cardinals to the Senate, ordered that Sunday should be a day of rest in Government dockyards, suppressed the teaching of philosophy in the Lycées (December, 1851—April, 1852), and increased the authority of the administration over professors of all orders. Such measures were naturally welcomed by ecclesiastics, who, like everybody else, were far from foreseeing the serious dissensions which the Italian war was destined to sow between the Empire and the Church. The belief spread that

Napoleon III. was to resemble Charles X. in favouring the "party of the priests."

Simultaneously among the middle classes the greater number felt confidence in a Government strong enough to cope with all elements disturbing to the public peace, and were further reassured by the marvellous expansion of industry and commerce which resulted partly from the general tranquillity, and partly from the introduction of railways, cheques, new systems of registering commercial societies, and the abolition of arrest for debt. By these means the middle classes were kept actively employed, even while losing the habit of self-government; by degrees they began again to assimilate the religious ideas which had formerly been distasteful to them, and they soon became devoted adherents of a system which was sure to command their obedience as long as it continued to enrich them.

A fraction, indeed, composed of the leaders of the old parties was the reverse of conciliated by the brutality with which it had been deprived of political liberty. But these men were obnoxious to the Democratic section as being Legitimists or Orleanists, while the feebleness which they had recently shown in the Assembly, and their lack of authority in Parliament or the Press, reduced them to utter impotence as enemies of the Empire, and condemned them to a merely private opposition—witty perhaps, but absolutely sterile.

As to the masses, it is certain that they hailed the new Government with pleasure. Napoleon III. in their view was their creature, the saviour of universal suffrage against the intrigues of Monarchists, and elected by the people as a defence against the perils of reaction.

The population of Paris had not made one serious effort to resist the *coup d'état* on the 2nd of December; their deputies were quite discredited in their eyes, and Louis-Napoleon appeared as the faithful servant of Democracy, the restored right of universal suffrage being here again potent to persuade. Moreover, the writings of the Prince were full of a mystical socialism which bred many illusions. A current remark of the time was: "Barbés *asked* a milliard from the rich for us: Bonaparte will *give* it to us."

The name of Bonaparte was also synonymous with hatred of those Treaties of 1815 which still rankled in the heart of many a partisan of that principle of nationality which passed for being a legacy of the great Revolution. This thought alone sufficed not only to quiet, but actually to attract the masses. While the banishment of some deputies, and the exile beyond seas of some hundred uncompromising Republicans, prevented all organised resistance in Paris or the provinces,[1] the decree of confiscation pronounced on the 22nd of January, 1851, against the property of the Orleans family, which was bestowed on various military and working-class charities, appealed to the popular hatred of Monarchy and confirmed the prevailing belief in the third Napoleon's humanitarian proclivities.

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[1] In the south-west and south-east alone was there any necessity for vigorous repression. And even there it was applied administratively.

Once again was the cause of political liberty in France sacrificed to the idea of equality, and a fresh complication was now introduced by a more or less definite aspiration towards fraternity.[1]

Although the new Constitution was promulgated on the 14th of January, 1852, formal legislative proceedings only began on the 29th of March, and Napoleon utilised the interval to fortify his position by the measures against the Press and Public Instruction which have already been described.

The elections to the Legislative Chamber took place at the end of February, and they were marked by the apparition of a personage destined to endure until the end of the Empire, the official candidate, namely, whom the Government recommended to the electors, and whose candidature was supported by all the means of which public functionaries could dispose. Nevertheless, three Republicans were elected, two in Paris and one in Lyons, but as all three refused to take the indispensable oath to observe the Constitution their election was declared invalid, and the Legislative Chamber finally counted but one opponent in its ranks, and this was Montalembert, whom the confiscation of the property of the Orleans had already cured of his friendship for the new Government. With such a chamber Napoleon had little to fear.

During the first years all went well, and various laws, some of which were useful, enriched the French code. In 1854 literary copyright and extended powers for the *Juges de Paix ;* in 1855 registration of mortgages, and in 1856 joint-stock companies (*Sociétés en Commandite*) were objects of reform, and various penal and administrative measures also passed, such as increased severity of punishment for attempts against a reigning house (1853); abolition of civil death; organisation of hard labour; transportation of convicts (1854); and the pensions of civil functionaries (1853).

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[1] This, however, was only in keeping with the old revolutionary device : "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

There remains to be mentioned also the law of the 5th of May, 1855, on the municipalities, which, as might have been expected, gave increased power to the Prefects by enabling them, for instance, to nominate mayors who did not sit on municipal councils, and deprived Paris and Lyons of all local elective representation.

In the direction of social reform, finally, an attempt was made at a system of Old Age Pensions (1853 and 1856), but it was accompanied by a vexatious order to all workmen to furnish themselves with a book in which the dates of their entry into, and departure from, a workshop should be entered (June 22, 1854), thus placing them to all intents and purposes under perpetual observation by the police.

Some incidents, even at this early date, might have suggested to an attentive observer that the political horizon might not always remain serene.

In spite of the small amount of liberty enjoyed by the Legislative Chamber, Montalembert found means on various occasions of warmly attacking the men and the measures of the time. Two notable examples were the speeches he pronounced, one in 1854, after an action had been brought against him for the publication of a political pamphlet, and the other in 1856, when he drew attention to the abuse of Government interference in the elections.

At other times Commissions of the Assembly complained of being fettered in their action by the Council of State, which would not allow them to introduce any amendments into Acts, or even to reduce the supplies demanded on the presentation of the Budget.

For the time being, however, these incidents might furnish a few days' subject of conversation, but they could not agitate the country as long as foreign affairs were of a nature to distract the public mind.

The Crimean War was in progress, and this undertaking, which had not even been discussed when the Chamber voted the necessary amounts of money and of men, was fortunate in being applauded almost unanimously, for the reason that it served the interests of France as well as of the Empire.

Napoleon III. had been aware from his first accession to power of the latent mistrust with which all Europe regarded him. His protests against the Treaties of 1815, his very name created such a prejudice against him, that he was constantly forced to try and reassure the other nations by affirming pacific intentions.

But his neighbours still held aloof, not knowing what dreams or ambitious projects might haunt his brain, and he consequently found himself obliged to prove his good intentions by joining in a war, which, by its very nature, excluded all idea of conquest on his part, and had for object to preserve the balance of the Powers, by protecting Turkey against Russia. The war had also the additional advantage of drawing him closer to Great Britain, the only country where the Press was free enough to become, in certain eventualities, inconvenient to the government of Napoleon, by affording encouragement to his victims and opponents.

The Emperor was sure, finally, that in France itself the war would be popular. Turkey was an ancient ally, and while the old parties must be favourable to the preservation of this alliance, the Liberals were pleased at the friendship which would result from it with the Mother of Parliaments; and even the Republicans hailed an attack upon autocratic Russia, and vaguely hoped that from this very conservative enterprise some revolutionary movement would follow in Italy or in Germany. As to the mass of the population, it could not suffer from the war, since as yet there was no universal conscription, and the subsidy was to be obtained not by taxation but by a loan—two circumstances which gave free play to the prevailing curiosity to see whether Napoleon III. was likely to revive the glorious memories of his uncle.

Hostilities began with the victory of the Allied forces at Alma on the 20th of September, 1854; but the chief interest in the war centred in the long and difficult siege of Sebastopol, which only fell on the 8th of September, 1855, and in various demonstrations of French and English ships before Bomarsund, Kinburn, and Petraupolosk.

The Czar Nicholas died before seeing the ruin of his designs upon the Danubian Provinces and Constantinople. His son Alexander II. hastened to demand peace, which was signed at the Congress of Paris on the 30th of March, 1856. Russia was forbidden to keep a fleet on the Black Sea, liberty of navigation on the Danube was guaranteed, and the commerce of neutrals in time of war assured.

These diplomatic and military triumphs, together with the prevailing intense commercial development, were very favourable to the Emperor, and largely influenced the elections to the Legislative Chamber in 1857. The Imperial Government had so far been spoilt by fortune, and the hour had not yet come for the stricken opposition to rise from the dust.

Nevertheless six candidates hostile to the Empire were elected in Paris and Lyons, a significant symptom of the growing feeling in the large towns. Subsequently the six deputies were reduced, by death or by the refusal to take the oath, to five, namely, Darimon, Emile Ollivier, Henon, Jules Favre, and Ernest Picard. They formed the celebrated "Opposition of Five" who began the attack against the institutions of 1852. But although opposition had made its way into the Legislative Chamber, it was still too much enslaved by legal restrictions to be able to speak or act; and before Napoleon III. could be induced to accord it liberty of expansion, he had to make the discovery that his foreign policy was distasteful to his own adherents, and was undermining his popularity with the nation in general.

On the 14th of January, 1858, three bombs thrown by Orsini, intended for the Emperor, killed or wounded one hundred and fifty people, but left Napoleon himself unhurt. Orsini was seized, tried, condemned, and executed; but his attempt revealed two facts, to wit, that he had accomplices outside France, and that the Emperor's death had been resolved upon in order to punish him for having allied himself with Conservative states, and thus been led to neglect the cause of Italian independence.

But Napoleon had not forgotten Italian independence. In his youth he had taken part in many conspiracies in the Peninsula, and when, in mature age and at the height of power, he engaged in the Crimean war, he had done his best to benefit Italy by inducing Piedmont to join in the expedition. No sooner had peace been signed than, taking the neutrality of Austria for his text, he endeavoured diplomatically to stir up various diplomatists against the Court of Vienna; but the pressure of other affairs and the fear that a war with Austria would leave him isolated in Europe and deprive him of the position which the Crimean war had assured to him, combined to prevent his taking instant action. While he hesitated, Orsini threw the bombs, and impressed upon the Emperor the necessity of a decision. But first he profited by the crime to consolidate the system of repression which he had inaugurated in France. In defiance of all truth, he chose to attribute Orsini's attempt to secret societies and republican intrigues, and then proceeded to suppress various journals, to divide France into five great Military Districts, and to make General Espinasse Minister of the Interior (February 7, 1858).

These preparations having caused universal alarm, he next induced the Council of State and the Legislature to pass the terrible law of General Safety (*Sureté Générale*), dated February 27th, which allowed the authorities to imprison anywhere, and even to expel from France and her colonies, any person who had been condemned for political offences since 1848. And to avoid the recurrence of incidents which had affected him disagreeably, he caused the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 17th of February to decree that candidates to the Legislative Chamber should take the oath to observe the Constitution before they could present themselves for election.

The excessive nature of these reprisals injured the Emperor more than they served him. For they were aimed not merely at revolutionary parties, who, when all was said, agitated rather than acted, but even at steady-going Liberals. To condemn Montalembert to six months' imprisonment for having praised English institutions in a review was to exasperate the most moderate, who could not be appeased even by the Emperor's instant revocation of the sentence. Men began to ask themselves whether a system which needed to support itself by such measures could really be as strong as it pretended. The Government saw its mistake, and tried to remedy it, as early as June, 1858, by appointing a civilian to the Ministry of the Interior. But the impression made could not be easily effaced, and the moment was a bad one for any bold venture. Yet it was precisely this moment which Napoleon III. chose for undertaking the Italian campaign. The Crimean war had somewhat intoxicated him; he was anxious to recover the ground which he had lost in public opinion, and could see nothing but advantage to himself in a fresh attack upon the Treaties of 1815 which would weaken the house of Austria, still regarded as the hereditary enemy of France, and drive her from Northern Italy, where her presence offended the populations.

The Emperor employed the autumn and winter months in preparing the mind of the public for his undertaking, but the preparation consisted, as was usual with Napoleon III., in giving hints which did not clearly reveal his intention. Sometimes he caused the publication of semi-official articles and "inspired" pamphlets discussing the Italian question, and at other times the newspapers contained paragraphs denouncing remarks which were disquieting to commercial circles and likely to disturb the friendly relations of France with her neighbours.

Several months passed thus in marches and counter-marches, with insinuations thrown out one day and withdrawn the next, when, all at once, on Austria ordering Piedmont to discontinue its military preparations, the Emperor declared war. The Crimean campaign had been, as we have said, very popular in France, but the exact contrary was the case with the war of Italian Independence. Apart from the Republicans, who hailed a policy likely to bring about a return to the old traditions of Freedom and Nationality, nobody was able to perceive the benefit likely to accrue from such an undertaking to France.

In the Legislative Chamber, when permission to contract a loan was demanded, apprehension was visible even in the ranks of the Imperialist majority, for was it not likely that on the pretext of defending Piedmont from Austrian aggression a blow might be struck at the independence of the Pope? And by an alliance with the revolutionary section in the Peninsula, might not France disquiet, and perhaps disturb, the whole of Europe?

Nevertheless the loan was voted, and Napoleon III. set out upon the war, after issuing a proclamation in which, playing for once into the hands of the Republicans, he expressed the desire to see Italy "free to the shores of the Adriatic" (May 3, 1859).

Two months later, although victorious at Montebello, at Magenta (June 4th), and at Solferino (June 24th), Napoleon III. abruptly put an end to the campaign by signing with Austria the preliminary peace of Villafranca, which later became the Treaty of Zurich (November 10, 1859), and was completed by the further Treaty of Turin, signed on the 24th of March, 1860, between France and Piedmont.

In virtue of these conventions, Austria ceded Lombardy to Piedmont, but kept Venetia; France annexed Nice and Savoy on condition that the population of these provinces should signify their consent to the arrangement by a plebiscite (which they did), and the remaining Italian States were directed to form a Confederation under the honorary presidence of the Pope. The explanation of this sudden failure to fulfil such brilliant promises was various. Prussia had assumed a threatening attitude, and Great Britain had remained coldly neutral. Also

Napoleon III. had hardly set foot in Italy before he became aware of national aspirations in the people which neither he nor anybody would be able to restrain. In other words, he awoke too late to the manifold consequences of his act.

The net result of the Italian expedition was that of all half-completed enterprises, inasmuch as it left everybody discontented. The Italians were frustrated in their hopes of unity and independence; their French supporters shared their disappointment; the enemies of Italian unity saw plainly that a movement had been set on foot which could not be arrested, and Europe fancied that the annexation of Nice and Savoy indicated a revival of the old conquering spirit of France. What was to be expected happened. The people of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena dethroned their rulers, and demanded to be united to Piedmont; the Romagna shook off the Papal yoke, Garibaldi's volunteers took possession of Sicily in May, 1860, and in September of the same year a Piedmontese army entered the Roman Campagna.

Napoleon III., feeling himself really guilty towards the Italians, and sympathising in his heart with their cause, did nothing to arrest the torrent which his own act had set flowing. He even adyised Pius IX. to give up the Romagna, and in a speech at Bordeaux in October, 1859, he spoke of ordering the recall of the French garrison which had occupied Rome ever since the events of 1849. This was all that was wanted to show what evil consequences at home were to ensue from a war which had already excited hostility in Europe. The Catholic party in France, with whom the temporal power of the Pope was an article of faith, rose in revolt, and a long and bitter struggle began between them and the Imperial Government.

By the end of 1859, and throughout 1860, the supporters of the Church were up in arms, and their demonstration provoked repressive measures of the implacable nature to which the Empire had accustomed its subjects. Catholic journals were suppressed or suspended; collections in favour of the Pope forbidden; bishops severely rebuked by the Minister of Religion, and their episcopal charges brought under the action of the Press-laws. If only some hundreds of believers enrolled themselves as soldiers under the papal banner, on the other hand the few Liberals who had been languishing in drawing-room obscurity since 1852 hastened to extend the hand of friendship to the Church, and to join in denouncing the violence to which it was subject, in the hope that the clergy might prove useful allies in the anti-Imperial campaign which was beginning anew.

Another very powerful and active group of malcontents arose at the same time in France. With the object of reviving the somewhat hesitating friendship now shown him by England, the Emperor pressed on the negotiations which he had begun a considerable time previously with Richard Cobden, and on the 23rd of January, 1860, he signed the famous Treaty of Commerce which, without realising the whole programme of Free Trade, yet diminished to a large extent the protection hitherto accorded to

French industry. The Protectionists, above all in the cotton-spinning districts, were enraged by this economic revolution thus imposed upon them without warning by the arbitrary will of the sovereign, unaccompanied by any sign from the body which was supposed to represent the national mind of France. And here again, as in the case of the Catholics, it became evident that men are little disposed to uphold autocracy when it attacks their interests. The Parliamentary session of 1860 brought this fact into relief. The Government was reproached with the hesitation, the tortuousness and the imprudence of its Italian policy, and at the same time complaints were heard from the Protectionists at the abuse of the Imperial prerogative. Napoleon III., under this cross-fire of attack, was not slow to perceive that he had lost touch with public opinion, and that if he continued to impose silence upon the nation he would end by digging an abyss between it and himself. As a result he issued the Decree of the 24th of November, 1860, for which nothing had prepared the public mind, and which was described by a contemporary as being a "*Coup d'état* born of the solitary meditations of the Emperor."

By this decree the Senate and the Chamber acquired the right of discussing and voting each year an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, and the publication *in extenso* of the debates in the Chamber was promised—a promise carried out by the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 2nd of February following. It was also determined to allow ministers without a portfolio to represent the Government during the sittings of the Chamber. All this may seem little in theory, but it was a great deal for the period. It meant that the Empire had inaugurated a new epoch, and was to pay for the excesses it had committed by renouncing the very principles to which it owed its existence.

XIII.

SECOND EMPIRE, 1860–1870.

Second Period: November 24, 1860—*September* 4, 1870.

THE decree of the 24th of November, 1860, which was completed by some slight mitigations of the fiscal laws and the repressive regulations imposed upon the Press (Acts of the 2nd of May and 2nd of July, 1861), accorded liberty of speech to the political assemblies once a year, that is to say in the debate on the Address.

Although the first legislative body which benefited by this favour had been elected in 1857, it soon gave the measure of the rate at which the public mind had travelled since the last General Election, and showed the confusion generated in the Government majority itself by the policy lately pursued by the Emperor. Old official candidates, emancipated at last, joined the famous Five in attacking the Government or resisting its measures. In vain the Emperor affirmed through his ministers that henceforward his policy in Italy would be one of non-intervention. While both in the Legislative Chamber and the Senate certain orators were openly attacking the Temporal Power as dangerous for the spiritual independence of the Pope and contrary to the interests of Italy, it was clear that the Catholics would require from Napoleon III. something else than an attitude of *laisser-faire*. In vain the Government announced an equilibrium in the Budgets; the Emperor's own friends rose to denounce both the abuse of supplementary credits which had introduced deficits in all preceding Budgets and the absurdity of the supplies *en bloc* which the Chamber was expected to vote for each Ministry. On this second point the Emperor afforded satisfaction to public opinion by ordaining that in future no supplementary credit should be granted without the consent of the Minister of Finance, and also that the Budget should be presented and voted upon in sixty-five "sections," each self-contained and definitely fixed (December 1 and 31, 1861).

But with regard to the Italian question, it was infinitely more difficult to take up an attitude which should conciliate the country. Napoleon III. exhausted himself in vain efforts to find a common ground of agreement between the Pope and Victor Emmanuel, who had caused himself to be proclaimed King of Italy (February 18, 1861), and every time that the Roman question was brought up in the French Chamber there was always on the one side a group who ardently advocated the withdrawal of the garrison,[1] and on the other a band of defenders of the Pope, while between the two the Ministry never found anything else to say than to recommend an attitude of patient expectation.

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[1] This measure was specially advocated in the Legislative Chamber by Jules Favre, and in the Senate by Prince Jerome Bonaparte, the son-in-law of Victor Emmanuel.

The uneasiness of Parliament at this ambiguous policy was shared by the country, and the Catholic clergy never ceased agitating in favour of the Holy Father; nor did the Government desist from its reprisals, on one occasion going so far as to dissolve a vast religious association long tolerated in France, which employed itself especially in collecting funds for Peter's Pence.

Moreover, the growing opposition of the Catholic world found an echo in other centres which were strangers to the merely religious question. Commerce and industry, long so flourishing, were much affected by the results in the whole world of business of the War of Secession in the United States. And further uneasiness was generated by the restless humour of Napoleon III., who not only despatched troops to Syria in 1861 to protect the Catholics of Lebanon, and to China in 1860 to open certain ports to European trade, but also engaged in 1862 in the mad enterprise in Mexico, where he hoped to make the Archduke Maximilian of Austria the ruler of a Latin empire—a project which collapsed in bloodshed and ruin after four years of costly struggle.

All these questions and many more were debated with passion by the "Five" in the French Chamber, and discussed more calmly by various members of the majority.

These debates were not immediately productive of reforms, since they could not influence either the hidden will of the sovereign or the composition of his ministries, but they sufficed to rouse public opinion and to show that the Empire had entered upon troublous times.

And sometimes unexpected results followed. One day the Legislative Chamber was in such an obstinate mood that the Government had to withdraw a proposal to bestow a life pension upon General Cousin de Montauban, Count of Palikao, who had commanded the Expeditionary Corps in China.[1] On another occasion one of the ministers without portfolio, whose duty it was to defend the acts of the Government before the Chamber, considered it incumbent on him to resign because he was in public opposition to the Minister of Finance—an act which revealed the need of a certain ministerial unity. But these small triumphs could not blind the public to the realities of the situation. Since the Chamber had obtained the right of speech and its voice was heard outside, men were surprised that there should exist constitutional hindrances to the realisation of the desires which it expressed.

The few business measures voted during this period, such as the Conversion of the Rentes (1861), the abbreviation of Civil and Commercial Procedure (1862), the Limited Liability Societies Act, the law on Flagrant Offences (*flagrants délits*, 1863), &c., were not of a nature to appease the public appetite, so lately and suddenly revived. Indecision reigned in all quarters

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[1] It was on the return of this expedition, in which England had concurred, that the French troops completed the conquest of Cochin China. A treaty with the Emperor of Annam in 1863 consolidated the first French establishments in Indo-China.

—in the nation at large as in Government circles, and while the one was a prey to confused aspirations, the other was tossed about by contradictory opinions.

Such was the situation on the 31st of May, 1863, when the General Election took place. The Government resorted on this occasion to the same preliminary machinations as in 1852, and deliberately refused its support to those deputies who, in the outgoing Parliament, had given the smallest sign of independence. But this time the official circulars were as eloquent in praising the recent liberal reforms of the Imperial Government as, eleven years previously, they had proved themselves in boasting of overwhelming authority.

The old Liberal party of opposition had recovered courage, and by alliance with the Church, which could not forgive the Emperor's Italian policy, it embittered the struggle in many constituencies.

The best representative of this fraction of opponents was Thiers, who was standing for Paris, and who was less anxious to change the form of government than to place it on a basis which should ensure its exercise of normal functions.

As to the Republicans, some advocated abstention in order not, as they expressed it, to "legitimise" the Empire by participating in its administration; while others threw themselves into the struggle, and, while recommending a more decidedly revolutionary and nationalist attitude abroad and social reforms at home, they were so shocked at the Imperial abuse of power that in their discussions they frequently forgot the essential conditions of all government.

All dissidents, whether Liberal or Republican, Thiers equally with Jules Favre, were opposed tooth and nail by the Government. Their newspapers were seized, their meetings dissolved, and, frequently, their electoral operations interfered with; but in spite of all, forty different opponents of the Empire, including the Legitimist Berryer, the Orleanist Thiers, such Republicans as Jules Favre, Pelletan, &c., succeeded in being elected, and the final result of the ballot showed that if the rural populations still supported the Government, the smaller towns were rapidly becoming Liberal, and the larger centres Radical.

To remain blind to this manifestation of public opinion was impossible. In Government circles, indeed, satisfaction was affected, but all the memoirs of the time betray the real apprehension which underlay these professions. There might, perhaps, have been an attempt at reaction had the general position of affairs been favourable to such a course. But the international horizon was lowering. The Roman question remained unsettled; in spite of pressure put upon him the Czar Alexander II. had not made any concessions to Poland; in the north the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty had begun, and was to end in the following year with the annexation of those territories to the Germanic Confederation; in short, everywhere there were complications to face which the Government needed to be supported both by the Chamber and by the whole country.

Moreover, it was desirable to conciliate the working classes, whose confidence in their political masters had begun to wane. Resistance under such circumstances was not to be thought of, and at first there was no attempt at it.

The Government took quite another course. On the 23rd of June the Emperor cast off Persigny, the Minister of the Interior, who had erred during the elections by excess of zeal, and seized the opportunity to suppress the ministers "without portfolio" who had been appointed in 1860. There was, in truth, a certain absurdity in having the acts of the Government defended in the Chamber, not by responsible ministers, the authors of these acts, but by a species of official advocates.

For the moment the right of addressing the Chamber was not granted to all ministers, but one of their number, the so-called Minister of State, was permanently empowered to speak for them.

This was a move in the direction of naming a president of the Council, and Rouher, who was entrusted with the new functions, gave evidence during many years of an intellectual and oratorical fertility and of resource which was, unfortunately, not accompanied by a corresponding force of character. The "Vice-Emperor," as he was later nicknamed, was chiefly remarkable for extreme docility towards his Sovereign.

Another appointment made at this time was that of Victor Duruy to the Ministry of Public Instruction. A man of broad and thoughtful mind, he removed the drawbacks from which education had suffered since 1852, by restoring Philosophy to a place in the scholastic programme, and by introducing the study of contemporary history.

To him also was due the institution of literary and scientific lectures, and courses of instruction for young girls, by means of which new life was introduced into the University; and had he been able to overcome the opposition of the Court and the clergy, he would have carried out a project for free, obligatory Primary Schools.

Still more direct bids for public favour were two Bills, one which conceded the right of strike to artisans, and another, addressed more particularly to the agricultural populations, increased the prerogatives of municipal and general councillors.

The first part of this scheme became law on the 25th of May, 1864, when it ceased to be an offence for workers to strike, although they were not yet to be allowed to meet for the purpose of deciding on concerted action to this end; while the second portion was partially realised by the Act regarding Councils General of the 18th of July, 1866, the reforms in municipal assemblies being carried out a year later.

All these measures, however, failed to appease the impatience of the public, who longed to obtain a larger share of political liberty. In the debate on the Address in 1864, Thiers, in a masterly speech on what he called "necessary liberties," had clearly formulated the Liberal demand.

He had shown how the public and the press were at the mercy of the police; how administrative harshness or administrative favours rendered universal suffrage inoperative; how the Chamber, hampered by legal restrictions, was unable to exercise any effective control; and he had pointed out that the evolution of Liberalism must inevitably lead to ministerial responsibility, which was also the crowning guarantee for every other form of freedom demanded by the country.

This programme, which was announced for the first time as a whole in 1864, and was advocated, partially or entirely, on different occasions by speakers of all shades of opinion, even by warm supporters of the Empire, rapidly gained adherents, but from Rouher it was always met with a categorical *non possumus*. He did not wish, he said, to deprive the Emperor of the right of governing in order to return to "superannuated constitutional fictions." The "Vice-Emperor" was encouraged to hold this language by a certain improvement which, towards the end of 1864, had taken place in the general situation of affairs.

The commercial crisis came to an end when the American war ceased; the quarrel about the Duchies was, at least, temporarily adjusted by the treaty of the 30th of October, 1864; and a convention concluded on the 15th of September of the same year between France and Italy seemed to close the Roman question by stipulating that the French troops should evacuate Rome within two years, and that Italy should guarantee possession to the Pope of all that remained to him of the Pontifical States.

The calm was, however, not destined to last. The convention of the 15th of September had been concluded without the consent of the Pope, and Pius IX., who was unanimously supported on the point by the French clergy, saw in it the practical abandonment of the sacred cause of the Temporal Power. He protested in his own fashion by publishing the famous encyclical *Quanta cura*, better known as the Syllabus, in which, after an exaggerated defence of the ancient *régime*, he denounced and anathematised as factious all doctrines based upon national sovereignty, universal suffrage, and liberty of conscience.

The French Government was disturbed by this publication, which attacked the very foundation of the Imperial edifice, and French priests were forbidden to read it from the pulpit. Hence arose, between the Empire and its Catholic subjects, a renewal of the old controversy, for while the Radicals began to agitate in favour of a separation between the Church and State, the majority of Frenchmen repeatedly declared that they wished the Temporal Power to be preserved.

France would probably have remained a long time in this condition, without acquiring any fresh degree of political liberty, if serious complications had not arisen abroad.

In 1865 and at the beginning of 1866 Rouher had just promised that the Legislative Chamber should be endowed with more extensive powers of amendment,[1] but he still refused to listen to any Liberal demands. This was the situation when, all at once, the public, which had remained somewhat indifferent to the quarrels between Prussia and Austria on the subject of the Danish Duchies, learnt, with alarmed surprise, that Prussia, in alliance with Italy, was making war on Austria, and that the latter had been beaten on the 3rd of July at Sadowa, with the result that Francis Joseph had to cede Venetia to Italy and the Duchies to Prussia, and withdrawing finally from the Germanic Confederation, had allowed this to fall under the hegemony of the Court of Berlin (Preliminaries of Nikolsburg and Treaty of Prague, 27th of July and 23rd of August, 1866). Throughout this business the Government of Napoleon III. had remained neutral, neither intervening to prevent the war nor showing any prevision of the crushing victory which Prussia was about to carry off. The Emperor, who during all his reign had been chiefly preoccupied with the Italian question, allowed himself now to be swayed by sympathy for that country, and flattered himself that by an alliance with the States of Southern Germany he would be able to counterbalance the influence which a now homogeneous Prussia was obtaining in the North.

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[1] These concessions were actually given by the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 18th of July, 1866, but they were of no great importance.

In vain at the first lowering of the storm Thiers, Jules Favre, and even Emile Ollivier, who on other points was being gradually won over to the Emperor, had spoken warning words in the Chamber. In the mind of Napoleon III. dreams were more potent than any conception of the true interests of France.

The suddenness of the shock, however, and the profound impression produced in France by the battle of Sadowa disturbed and disquieted him. He perceived very clearly the necessity under which he would find himself, in order to be prepared for graver eventualities still, to demand sacrifices in men and money from the nation, with the object of augmenting the army.

But how to obtain such sacrifices, when belief in the infallibility of the sovereign existed no longer either in the mind of the nation or of the emperor himself?

It became indispensable to give something to the anxious country in return for all that was to be asked of it, and to this necessity was due the decree of the 19th of January, 1867, which, like all its predecessors, was published after a period of absolute silence. By this decree the Address from the Throne was suppressed, and there succeeded to it a general right of question which, although hedged round by complicated formalities, at least allowed the Chambers to discuss the policy of the Government not merely once a year but whenever the occasion arose. On the other hand ministers acquired the power of offering personal explanations to Parliament,[1] and two bills were promised for according a greater measure of liberty to the press and to public meetings.

This step in advance was hardly taken when the Government seemed to stand still, if not to draw back. The year 1867 was principally remarkable for the Universal Exhibition and the numerous receptions of royal personages to which it gave rise. In political matters it was full of hesitations and contradictions. There was a Court party round the Emperor and another party in the Chamber which watched with regret the demolition by the sovereign himself of the Constitution originally established by himself. Every time that it was possible to check him in his course towards Liberalism the effort was eagerly made, and Napoleon III., prematurely old, and always unwilling to act unless under pressure, yielded at intervals to the reactionary influences brought to bear upon his mind, and thus lost the benefit of the rare wise acts which he was still capable of initiating.

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[1] By a *Senatus-Consulte* of the 14th of March, the Senate also acquired wider legislative powers. Since 1852 this assembly had been debarred from rejecting any Act voted by the other Chamber unless it were unconstitutional. Henceforth it would be empowered to examine all Acts on their merits, and, without being able to amend them, could at least return them to the Legislative Body for further consideration.

Rouher, too, was only progressive under protest, and too deeply committed to the policy of resistance to be able to alter now, except with an immeasurable loss of importance. His chief preoccupation, moreover, was to defend his position against the growing influence which Emile Ollivier was acquiring over the Emperor.

The session of 1867 consequently passed without any realisation of the promises made on the 19th of January. The long-expected Municipalities Act became law, another giving a large degree of liberty to commercial associations was also passed, but neither the press nor public meetings were released from their legal disabilities, and the Government failed to obtain a favourable vote for a project regarding the army, which was yet of the first importance.

Once again did considerations of foreign policy oblige the Government to carry out the promised reforms. Almost immediately after Sadowa, Napoleon III. hastened to recall the troops which he had left in Mexico. They had hardly embarked on their homeward journey before the Emperor Maximilian was seized and shot by his subjects of an hour (June 19, 1867). At the same time the French Cabinet, humiliated and alarmed by the consequences of the battle of Sadowa, had sought for a compensation and a guarantee in the annexation of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg; but later, tricked by Prussia, which at first had maliciously encouraged the enterprise, it had to renounce the idea of annexation, and content itself with a mere neutralisation of the territory (Convention of London, May 11, 1867).

To crown all, a body of Garibaldian volunteers had attacked the Pontifical States, and France had been forced hastily to despatch two divisions for the protection of the Pope (November, 1867).

Such an uninterrupted series of checks was not of a nature to restore the declining prestige of the Empire. Not only did it disclose an international situation of extreme peril, but it gave rise in France to passionate discussions, wherein Rouher, in spite of his infinite dexterity and imperturbable optimism, only succeeded, when all was said, in revealing the powerlessness of his master.

The Government was at last forced to keep its engagements: and the Session of 1868 was devoted partly to the Army Act and partly to the improvement of the laws on the press and public meetings.

The Army Act (February 1) had reference chiefly to the Reserve Forces, of which the number was to be increased by incorporating all young men hitherto dispensed from active military service either in return for a money payment or for any other reason.

The object in view was to form an Auxiliary Army to which summary instruction should be given annually in time of peace.

As to the press (May 11), it was freed from the necessity of preliminary authorisation, and exempted from administrative penalties. As to public meetings (June 6), preliminary authorisation was in their case only maintained when political or religious questions were to be discussed, out of the electoral season.

These various Acts did not pass the Chambers without difficulty. Opposition to the extension of obligatory military service was carried beyond bounds; and while the Radicals were denouncing the other two Acts as inadequate and unreal, the Extreme Right, which had lately undertaken the task of defending the events of 1852 against the Emperor himself, attacked them as being dangerous to the Crown and to Society. The Acts passed all the same; but while the Empire was thus contradicting its first principles, and forcing its servants to eat their own past words and nullify their own past acts, certain prominent Imperialists were found to declare that the constitutional responsibility of the Chief of the State was a myth, and must in any case become a menace to the future stability of the dynasty.

Ministerial responsibility was demanded in circles where formerly it had been most energetically opposed, the object being to protect the Emperor against contentions of the hour and relieve him from the burden of the errors which had been committed. By the end of 1868 everybody foresaw a crisis.

The first use made of the new liberties showed that problems cannot be solved by denying their existence, or peace be established by imposing silence. The ideas of 1848 which were believed to be extinct had simply smouldered underneath; and public meetings revealed a Socialist movement which was all the stronger for having been so long repressed. Formidable strikes had to be put down by force, and multiplied sentences did not avail to silence the revolutionary utterances of various new journals. In the streets of Paris itself there were Republican demonstrations, and the Government — discredited abroad, served by bewildered functionaries, assailed by an embittered clergy and an Opposition, already divided indeed, but as intemperate as it was inexperienced, and supported only by a majority weary of defending a policy which it no longer understood— the Government drifted helplessly from one rock to another, at the mercy of every wind that blew, and soon to be engulfed by the worst storm of all.

The elections of 1869, prepared amid general confusion and agitation, disclosed the full extent of the crisis. Representatives of various shades of opposition were put forward in all constituencies, and carried off victories the more surprising that there was no cohesion in the ranks of the Government's enemies, Liberals and Catholics struggling as fiercely against Radicals as against official candidates. The last-named only obtained 4,636,000 votes throughout France, while the various sections of the Opposition among them numbered 3,270,000 suffrages.

There entered into the New Legislature twenty-eight members of the Left, mostly returned by large towns, and all more or less irreconcilable, and 264 "dynastics," among whom, however, almost the half were Parliamentary Liberals, who with the Left made up the numerical majority of the Chamber.

Personal government lay prone. Had he been wise, Napoleon III. would at once have confided the direction of the movement to the "dynastic" Liberals: that was the only chance left to him of saving the Empire. But he shrank from so decided a capitulation: once again he hesitated, and when he at last made up his mind to complete the evolution begun in 1860, it was too late.

The Chamber was convened for the 28th of June with the sole object of verifying the powers of its members. On the 8th of July, 116 deputies, all belonging to the "dynastic" Liberals or Third Party, among whom were Buffet, Emile Ollivier, &c., moved to ask the views of the Chamber "as to the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country by allowing it a larger part in the management of its affairs," an object which the movers considered could only be attained through the constitution of a responsible Ministry, and the concession to the Chamber of the right of specifying the conditions of its own labours, and of its communications to the Government.

The Government was alarmed at this energetic claim to Parliamentary liberty, and prorogued the Chamber so as to avoid replying to the motion, while at the same time announcing the intention of studying the means of gratifying the desire which the deputies had expressed.

The study thus undertaken had a double result.

Rouher left the Ministry to become President of the Senate,[1] and a *Senatus-Consulte* of the 8th of September, 1869, decreed that henceforth the Chamber should share with the Emperor the right of initiating laws, that it should be accorded the right of integral amendment, that ministers should be responsible, that the right of interpellation should be freed from the restriction to which it had hitherto been subject, that the Legislature should elect its committee (*bureau*) and manage its own internal affairs, that treaties of commerce should be submitted to Parliament before ratification, and that the Budget should be voted in separate heads.

Thus was the Constitution of the year 1852 almost completely destroyed. Napoleon III. solemnly disavowed the principles which he had once declared to be essential to the government of the country, and virtually made a public and radical confession of weakness and error.

But how could France believe in the sincerity of this confession when seeing the Emperor still surrounded with the men who had professed and practised contrary principles?

Rouher, indeed, had withdrawn himself, but his subordinates and collaborators remained in possession of the various ministries. There are hours in the life of nations when changes of persons are more important and more significant than modifications of constitutional texts.

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[1] The confusion in the Government is proved by the fact that during the last two years of the Empire the Minister of Foreign Affairs was changed arbitrarily six times.

But Napoleon III. was now afflicted with that sort of senility which cannot accustom itself to new faces; and this completed the exasperation of the Third Party, who were disappointed in their hopes of coming into power.

The Emperor, however, perceived at last that he could not hope to dispel the uneasiness of the country, unless he summoned new men to his councils. On the 27th of December he wrote to Emile Ollivier begging him to indicate some persons who would be prepared to join him in forming a Cabinet "fully representative of the majority in the Chamber, and determined to carry out, in letter and in spirit, the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 8th of September."

The task was already more difficult than it would have been six months previously, for, thanks to the hesitations of the Government, the anarchy of Parliament had rapidly increased. The Extreme Right, led by Jérôme David and Granier de Cassagnac exhibited more and more discontent at the Empire's departure from old principles. The One Hundred and Sixteen had become One Hundred and Fifty, and then divided, two-thirds forming a kind of Right Centre under Emile Ollivier, the remainder a Left Centre which chiefly followed the lead of Buffet. The Left itself had also broken up into two groups, of which one, under the guidance of Jules Favre and Ernest Picard, was disposed to treat the reforms of the Empire with favour, while the other, headed by Rochefort, Raspail, &c., already advanced claims to an unbridled democracy.

Nevertheless on the 2nd of January, 1870, Emile

Ollivier succeeded in forming a Ministry composed of elements from the two Centres, and at once proved his sincere attachment to Liberalism by dismissing a great number of functionaries compromised through excess of zeal; and by presenting two Bills, one of which forced the Government to choose the Mayors from among the members of Municipal Councils, and the other conferred on Councils-General the right of electing their Presidents and of publishing a Report of their meetings (22nd and 23rd of July). The Chamber even voted a reduction in the Stamp Duty for the Press, and referred newspaper offences once more to juries; but these measures, delayed in the Senate, had not time to pass before the tragical events which marked the months of August and September.

The position of Emile Ollivier was far from an easy one. The public excitement was so great that the smallest pretext sufficed to cause riots in the streets. In the Chamber the Ministry was attacked by the Left, which regarded Emile Ollivier as a deserter, and only tepidly supported by the Right, who accused him of having abandoned the most cherished principles. He had bitter enemies among the immediate advisers (*entourage*) of the Emperor, and his will being inferior to his talent as an orator, he yielded too often to Court influences to be able to assume in the eyes of the bewildered public the attitude of one who could dominate the situation.

He yielded particularly on one ever-to-be-regretted occasion. Of all the alarming signs of the times, Napoleon III. saw but one: his own waning personal power. The idea occurred to him that he might renew his force by means of one of those appeals to popular opinion which eighteen years previously had crowned his omnipotence.

On pretence that the innumerable constitutional reforms introduced since 1860 required the ratification of the country, on the 21st of March he ordered Emile Olliver to prepare a *Senatus-Consulte* codifying all these reforms, and affirming at one and the same time the Emperor's continued responsibility to the nation, and his exclusive right to introduce modifications into the Constitution. And at the beginning of April it was decided, at the instigation of Rouher, that this *Senatus-Consulte* should form the subject of a plebiscite. Emile Ollivier did not approve of this course, which did, in fact, belie all the recent parliamentary reforms of the Empire, but he could not make up his mind to oppose it, and even accepted the resignation of the members of his Cabinet who belonged to the Left Centre rather than enter upon a struggle with the Emperor himself.

The plebiscite took place on the 8th of May. It was insidiously worded in the following terms: "The people approve of the liberal reforms which the Emperor has introduced into the Constitution, and ratify the *Senatus-Consulte* of the 20th of April." As the votes were taken *en bloc*, the formula had either to be rejected in its entirety, or the people had simultaneously to signify approval of the Emperor and his reforms and the imperfections still subsisting in the Constitution. Consequently an important section of the Left and a notable group of "dynastic"

Liberals preferred to abstain from voting, and there were finally 7,359,000 affirmative suffrages, against 1,572,000 negatives and 1,900,000 abstentions.

This victory determined the ruin of the Empire and the mutilation of France. Napoleon III. believed that he still possessed the confidence of the country, and that a little external glory succeeding to so many reverses would restore his shaken authority. He was encouraged in this idea by his family and by the Imperialist majority, who felt the ground giving way beneath their feet. For the rest, ever since Sadowa and the Luxemburg affair everybody was persuaded of the imminency of a quarrel with Germany, and that country, energetically directed by Bismarck, preferred to precipitate events, rather than wait until the action of the law of 1868 should have increased the military strength of France. In such a situation the smallest spark was able to provoke an explosion.

The Hohenzollern candidature to the throne of Spain, which had remained vacant in consequence of the revolution which overthrew Queen Isabella, was the opportunity desired by almost everybody on the two sides of the Rhine. Wisdom would have counselled France to wait upon events. Spain would certainly have hastened to get rid, unassisted, of any foreign prince, as she had done in the beginning of the century with King Joseph, and as she did again some years later with King Amedeus. But France had been subjected to many affronts within the past four years and could not show herself reasonable.

Active negotiations passed between the Cabinets of Paris and Berlin, and from the very first day the former solemnly declared that it would never consent to the presence of a German sovereign in Madrid. The King of Prussia, head of the House of Hohenzollern, then ordered his cousin to withdraw his candidature. Emboldened by this success, the Duke de Grammont, French Foreign Minister, advanced fresh pretensions. He required a promise from Prussia never to allow the candidature to be renewed. This King William refused, and Bismarck, abetted by the unscrupulousness or the simplicity of De Grammont, allowed a report to be spread throughout Europe that the French Ambassador had been ill-treated by the Prussian monarch. This report, absolutely baseless as it turned out, put the crown to public excitement in France. Since the 5th of July not a day passed that either the Corps Législatif or the Senate had not shown some warlike tendency, and when, on the 15th, De Grammont announced the mobilisation of the reserves, it was in vain that Thiers, Jules Favre, Buffet, and others called for explanations and delay. On the 19th war was officially declared, and the Chamber prorogued.

Nothing was in readiness for such a tremendous undertaking. The Empire had neither soldiers nor allies. Its precipitation in acting had not allowed it to make sure of the assistance of Austria. The military magazines were empty, and the army which had figured since 1868 on paper had not received the necessary instruction. The defeats at Weissenburg, Reichshoffen, and Forbach, on the 2nd, 4th, and 6th of August, opened the eyes of the most blindly optimistic. The Chamber was hastily resummoned, and on the 9th overturned Ollivier's Ministry. The next day a Cabinet, presided over by General Count de Palikao, was formed out of the elements of the Right Wing and Centre, and immediately began to organise the defence of Paris, which was felt to be already in danger. Napoleon III. left to place himself at the head of one of his armies, and while Bazaine, beaten several times beneath the walls of Metz (at Borny, Gravelotte, and Vionville, 14th to 18th of August), finally allowed himself to be shut up there, the Emperor marched on Sedan, was there vanquished on the 1st of September and surrendered with his whole army to the Prussian King the next day.

Thus less than six weeks after the commencement of hostilities France found herself without a ruler, or means of defence. A disaster, unparalleled in rapidity, continuity, and extent, left the country disabled and a prey to invasion.

In the Chamber the panic-stricken majority allowed the more moderate among the Deputies to propose a Provisional Government, and the convening of a Constituent Assembly (motion of Thiers, 4th of September). But the Parisians, over-excited and already long alienated from the Empire, suspecting treason everywhere, invaded the Assembly, demanded the deposition of the Empire, and then proceeding to the Hôtel de Ville, proclaimed a Provisional Government, which the Republican members for Paris hastened to establish, under the presidency of General Trochu, Military Governor of the Capital.

The Empire had fallen, in shame and degradation, the victim even more of its own ineptitude than of the attacks of its adversaries, after having killed liberty at its rise, and mutilated the country in its fall.

The Emperor, always dreaming, always resigned, was conveyed as a prisoner to Wilhelmshohe. He—in the words of Jules Lemaitre—"had confusedly ruminated on the enfranchisement of nations, and the establishment of a Socialist and yet Cæsarian Democracy. These great designs were vaguely conceived by his imagination—the imagination of a gentle fatalist who, dazzled by the prodigious destiny of which he was the plaything while believing himself to be its hero, had indolently confided in the virtue of his star."

XIV.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE—THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

(*September*, 1870—*December* 31, 1875.)

THE Empire had been wrecked by the self-contradictions of its origin, not having known how to find an equilibrium between the conservative prejudices which it had used for its own ends, and the revolutionary passion to which it owed its birth.

The autocratic system of government as embodied in the Empire had not allowed this equilibrium to establish itself through the free action of social forces, and consequently an hour came in which the ruler, no longer able to stem a double current, found leagued against him the Conservatives whom he had injured in their interests, and the Democrats whom he had disappointed in their hopes. But Napoleon III. in his fall left to his successors a very different France from that of 1848.

By creating a vacuum in which to reign as master, and representing as an unhealthy agitation all that political action can show on its noble, disinterested, and generous side, Napoleon III. had only too completely succeeded in belittling and misleading the middle class. This class had already lost social prestige through the paltriness of the struggles in which it had engaged from 1848 to 1851, and now, deprived of all participation in public life, it parted with the last remnant of authority which it might still have boasted.

Under the influence of the speculative fever which the economical movement of the Second Empire had provoked, the *bourgeoisie* became more practical-minded, more self-seeking and selfish than before, and to such a degree that when the Military Act of 1868 was debated in the presence of national peril, it endeavoured to drive a hard bargain with the Government for the military services of its sons.

A few members of the middle class had remained attached to Liberal principles, but they constituted such a small minority, that in order to be victorious they had to seek alliances in quarters from which they would once have shrunk with horror. After the Italian war, they made common cause with the Catholics, and thanks to this unexpected alliance the French *bourgeoisie* ceased to be Voltairian, and borrowed from the Church many points of view and not a few rules of conduct. And, finally, as lawyers alone had preserved some right of free speech, the middle class caught from them the infection of oratorical flights, which, being unpractical and irresponsible, naturally produced no lasting result.

As to the Democratic party, it had been exasperated by the long waiting for the golden vistas which the events of 1848 had disclosed for a moment, and towards which it was hoped that a Bonaparte would lead the way. Not having been allowed to learn anything from experience, this party had failed to perceive which of its aspirations were too visionary for human nature to realise, and which might be susceptible of an early application. Socialists were just as wild, as intemperate and as ignorant in 1870 as in 1848—perhaps more so, and they were nourished on sentiment and appeased with words, for the simple reason that no theory had been reduced to practice, and nothing had been attempted for the political education of the masses.

In Socialism there were strong forces, still inexperienced, incoherent, and undisciplined, distrustful also of Parliamentarism which had been adopted only by the adversaries of universal suffrage, and the investiture of these forces with sovereignty and freedom naturally involved strange and terrible surprises for the public.

But in September, 1870, the moment had not yet come for the discovery of these unknown quantities bequeathed by the Second Empire. The upright men who, in an hour of universal surrender and poignant anxiety, undertook the provisional government of a country invaded by the foe, proclaimed their own mission when naming themselves "The Government of National Defence." Before thinking of any political task, they had to consider how they might save their country, and try to restore the honour of their flag.

From a military point of view this is not the place to recount the events that took place between the 4th of September and the conclusion of peace. While Thiers was travelling here and there in Europe in a vain effort to gain help for France, and the majority of the members of the Provisional Government remained in Paris during the siege, sparing no effort to maintain the moral and physical energy of two millions of people, other officials installed themselves first at Tours, and then at Bordeaux, and, inspired by the courageous direction of Gambetta, a young advocate whom nothing had prepared for such a part, but who in the pressing peril of the hour displayed extraordinary eloquence and a marvellous faculty for organisation, they improvised soldiers and commanders, and showed themselves the equals of the old Convention in their patriotism, while rising superior to it by the perfect humanity of their behaviour.

For five months and a half Paris endured the siege, the bombardment of its walls, and the pangs of hunger, while making useless sorties; for five months and a half the provinces furnished armed levies, which under Generals d'Aurelles de Paladines, Chanzy, Faidherbe, and others fought with honour if not with success. But all was useless. The capitulation of Metz, on the 27th of October, was followed by that of all the large Alsatian towns; and after a success at Coulmiers on the 9th of November, the Army of the Loire was defeated at Beaune-la-Rolande (November 28), at Orleans (December 3), at Le Mans (January 12, 1871), the Army of the North at Villers-Bretonneux (November 27), Pont-Noyelle (December 23), St. Quentin (January 19, 1871), and the Army of the East at Villersexel and Dijon (January, 1871). Paris, famished, had at last to capitulate on the 29th of January, 1871, when the preliminaries of peace signed on that day at Versailles, and confirmed by the Treaty of Frankfort on the 10th of May, deprived France of all of Alsace except Belfort, and a portion of Lorraine which included Metz, without speaking of an indemnity of war amounting to five milliards, until full payment of which the German army was to continue the occupation of the territory.

Twice, during this trying period, the Government of National Defence had desired to summon the electors for the choice of a Constituent Assembly, but in order to do this an armistice was necessary, and Bismarck on each occasion refused to accord this except on conditions so exorbitant and so injurious to the military action which was proceeding, that the idea had to be abandoned.

It was only after the capitulation of Paris that it became possible to hold a General Election. This was carried through on the model of 1849, that is to say by departmental ballot, and as the responsibility for the prolongation of the war, of which the nation on the whole was tired, seemed to rest with the Republicans, these were generally defeated, and when the Assembly met it was composed of a majority of landed proprietors (the "rurals" as they were later called), most of whom were Conservatives and even Monarchists, and all resolutely bent on peace.

The country to the north of the Loire being occupied by the enemy, the Assembly met on the 13th of February at Bordeaux, and, after taking over the powers of the Government of National Defence, it elected, on the 16th, Jules Grévy for its President. On the 17th, Thiers—so lately distinguished by his mission to Europe as well as by his consistent opposition to the foreign policy of the Empire—was appointed "Chief of the Executive of the French Republic." This was a choice which the Assembly could not evade, Thiers having been elected to the Assembly by twenty-six departments, and the title bestowed on him borrowed all its significance from the vote given, on the 1st of March, by the Assembly with only six dissentients, by which the Empire was declared to have fallen, and pronounced "responsible for the ruin, the invasion and the dismemberment of France."

But this was only a preamble. The question was: what would the Assembly do henceforward? Its composition was anomalous, for, while elected with the object of concluding peace, it did not possess a majority on a single other point. On the political side no Chamber could have been more heterogeneous. Out of 750 members there were barely 250 genuine Republicans, and a dozen of these were irreconcilable, almost Revolutionists, like Louis Blanc, Rochefort, &c. Of Bonapartists there were about thirty, and even these hardly dared call themselves by a name so unpopular at a moment when the disasters brought about by Napoleon III. were still fresh. Some thirty more deputies were known as "savages," and their convictions followed whither the wind blew; a hundred or so were

Legitimists, whom the clergy had pushed to the front, but who lacked proper leaders; three hundred were mostly Orleanists, and as such were destined to form the Right Centre; and the surplus consisted of Liberals, who were later, under the direction of Thiers, to constitute the Left Centre, and who, beginning by distrusting the Republic, were eventually won over to it through detestation of the Empire. In other words, there was a monarchical majority, which could not establish a Monarchy because divided into three great rival groups, each with a Pretender; and a republican minority, which profited by the divisions among its adversaries to achieve the form of government preferred by itself. On all sides mutual suspicion reigned, causing the Assembly to waste its energies in sterile investigations.

Liberal inclinations found voice only in the decentralising Act, on the *Conseils Généraux*, of the 10th of August, 1871, and left untouched such questions as the Press and Municipal Franchise,[1] besides always drawing back decisively the moment the Assembly thought it saw an opportunity of proclaiming any kind of monarchy.

Sympathy with the Catholic Church led to the Act of the 12th of July, 1875, on Secondary Education, which for several years gave the clergy a degree of authority unknown at any previous period in the history of France. There was, in short, in all directions a great display of passion and a great amount of industry, many conflicting aspirations, and consequently much impotence; but, on the whole, the Assembly was one of the most remarkable which France ever possessed, and the task of national reconstruction which it eventually accomplished assumed proportions well-nigh superhuman. The weakened and impoverished country had to be reorganised, the army reconstructed, the finances restored, the enormous indemnity exacted by the conqueror paid, and the territory liberated from the army of occupation. To this immense task Thiers addressed himself with marvellous energy and patriotism. On the 19th of February he formed a Ministry consisting of three Republicans and six members of the Right Centre, thus inviting the co-operation of all parties in his enterprise. In a great speech delivered on the 11th of March he summoned the representatives of the nation to defer all discussion of constitutional questions until such time as the national resources should be reconstituted. The truce thus proposed, and which is known as the Compact of Bordeaux, was accepted by all. Leaving aside all patriotic considerations—although these indisputably prevailed—the Republicans had everything to gain by obtaining time for the country to live under a Government known by their name, while the Monarchists were by no means anxious to impose upon their princes the responsibility of the taxes and military subsidies which it was indispensable to require from the country.

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[1] An Act of the 14th of April, 1871, decreed, however, that mayors should be elected by the Municipal Councils in all communes of less than 20,000 inhabitants.

On the same day the Assembly decided to adjourn until the 20th, and to transport the seat of government from Bordeaux to Versailles. On arriving in the last-named town, it was found that the situation of affairs had become greatly aggravated through the Parisian insurrection.

Machiavelli remarked with acumen that almost all the great sieges known to history have terminated with seditions, for the moral and physical sufferings of the people predispose them to be influenced by agitators, while the arms with which they are unavoidably provided, furnish the weapons for a rising. Paris was unfortunately to offer no exception to the rule. Already during the siege, on the 31st of October, 1870, it had been necessary to employ force for the repression of a popular rising, and by degrees, as military operations were prolonged, the opinion began to gain ground that the chiefs were traitors. On the conclusion of the peace various incidents completed the public excitement. The triumphal entry of the German troops was a bitter if brief trial; the announcement that the National Guard was to be disarmed disquieted those who had no other means of livelihood than their pay as soldiers; the sudden resumption of economic existence, with all its obligations and tributes, after such a long period of suspension, precipitated many small traders into bankruptcy; finally, the political tendencies of the National Assembly suggested fears for the future of the Republic. As always, there were agitators and conspirators who sought to use this mood of the public for their own ends, and when the Assembly inflicted on Paris the affront of preferring Versailles as the political capital of France, the situation became ripe for insurrection. It broke out on the 18th of March, and showed itself immediately to be so serious, that the members of Government who were still in Paris departed for Versailles with the regular troops of the garrison, and thus left the ground clear for the Commune.

Some days were consumed in vain negotiations with the object of preventing the Parisians from engaging in any political action, while endeavouring to afford them satisfaction in the matter of municipal franchises. But as soon as they had elected a Municipal Council, on the 28th, the leaders of the movement unmasked themselves, and advanced a claim to act everywhere and in everything in the place of the regular Government. The answer of the latter was prompt. On the 6th of April, with an army hastily composed of the troops which had evacuated Paris on the 18th and the prisoners returning from Germany, the second siege of Paris began, Frenchmen being arrayed this time against Frenchmen, in the presence of the Germans who still occupied the northern outskirts of the town. The siege lasted more than six weeks: it was only on the 28th of May that the Versailles troops succeeded in occupying Paris.

In the interval the Commune had given a repetition in miniature of the National Convention embellished by the Socialism of 1848. Jourde and his following of Socialists properly so-called, who formed a minority and were soon effaced by the purely revolutionary element, spoke of seizing for the proletariate the workshops which had been abandoned and of fixing a minimum wage. Cluseret, Delescluze, Paschal Grousset, and the other revolutionaries, were satisfied with occupying administrative posts and governing as energetically as possible, while suspecting, watching, and execrating one another, and pushing their determination as far as murder and incendiarism when they found themselves finally brought to bay by the Versailles troops.

On both sides the struggle was sanguinary, even savage. Foot by foot all the principal centres of the town were disputed, and when Paris was at last won, eleven thousand prisoners were brought before the Councils of War.[1]

These lamentable and tragic events were not of a nature to convert the majority of the National Assembly to Republican ideas. For a long time a sombre memory brooded over the Chamber and the country in general, but more particularly the partisans of a monarchical restoration, profited by this mood to denounce the Republic as a permanent source of disorder. Nevertheless the credit of France was less shaken than might have been expected, and when, in the very same year, the first enormous loan was issued for the payment of the various expenses of the war, its success, both in France and abroad, exceeded all anticipation.

The vitality of the country was truly marvellous. Without murmur or hesitation it bore the burden of 750 million francs of new annual taxation, which was employed either in paying the interest on loans or in building up anew the material of war.

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[1] Similar revolts had broken out in the principal working centres, such as Lyons, St. Etienne, Limoges, and Marseilles. They were everywhere promptly repressed.

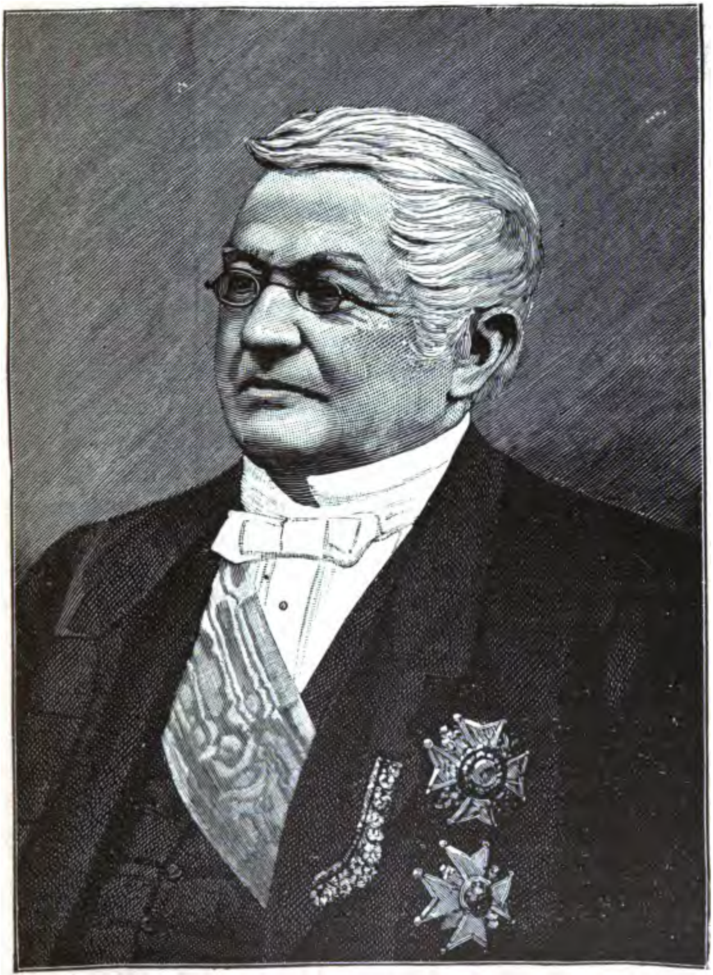
The army needed to be completely reorganised, and on the 27th of July, 1872, a law was passed to this effect, which was a tardy emulation of the example given by Prussia the day after the battle of Jena, inasmuch as it established universal compulsory military service for all citizens between twenty and forty, with five years of active service for all except certain so-called "capacitaires," who were allowed to remain for one year only under arms.

To complete these reforms it would have been necessary to pass an Act for the immediate instruction of all young Frenchmen. In spite of the efforts at primary education made by Victor Duruy, there were still five hundred thousand totally illiterate children. Jules Simon endeavoured vainly to induce the Assembly to decree that instruction should be compulsory, without exacting that it should at the same time be gratuitous and lay (December, 1871). The hostility of the majority to all teaching not primarily religious was such that the Assembly, not feeling certain of being able to hand over all the public schools to ecclesiastical congregations, simply dropped the project.

Although there was as yet no desire to attack true constitutional problems, it appeared advisable to define the relations of the head of the Executive with the representatives of the nation.

A law of the 3rd of September, 1871, decided that the "President of the Republic" should be responsible to the Assembly, which might remove him at will; also that he might address it—which was a thing he had never been supposed to do since his election. At the same time the law proclaimed—perhaps the most important point of all—that the Assembly was possessed of constitutional powers. This statement was a clear answer to certain recent pretensions of the Republicans. The greater number of the bye-elections had been favourable to this party, which, feeling the country to be with it, desired to contest the right of an Assembly, where it was in a minority, to pass laws for a Constitution. The Monarchists, for precisely contrary reasons, were all the more determined to accomplish their political mission, that they were sensible of having lost influence. Moreover, believing that Thiers, by the simple fact of his presence at the head of affairs, would be able to facilitate the impending evolution of opinion, they began to batter in his defences.

As regarded Thiers himself, the suspicions of the Monarchists were not unfounded. The more the President came to understand the situation, the more he perceived that no monarchical restoration would be possible in the present divided counsels of the Assembly and in the state of mind of the country. But as he also perceived that it would not be difficult now to organise a Republic without handing over the government at once to the most revolutionary section, he began to lean more and more on the Left, just as the Right became more and more self-centred. Hence arose a series of secondary conflicts. Every now and again Thiers would be constrained to give up one or other of his ministers of the 19th of February, such as Jules Favre or Ernest Picard, and to replace them with members of the Right Centre;



[*From a Photo. by E. Appert, Paris.*

THIERS.

or he had to threaten to resign (indeed, he did so twice, when the election of mayors or the imposition of new taxes was in question) in order to influence the decisions of the Assembly.

The latter always ended by yielding, because it felt that until the territory was liberated, that is until the indemnity should be paid off, Thiers was indispensable to the country; but the opposition of the majority to him grew greater as it was embittered by all these forced concessions, and the clergy, exasperated by hope deferred, multiplied its noisy demonstrations, and even went so far as to petition for the re-establishment of the Temporal Power—as if France, weakened and dismembered, could be launched upon such a crazy adventure!

On the 13th of November, 1872, order being restored, the finances reconstituted, and the army within measurable distance of reorganisation, Thiers submitted the constitutional problem to the Assembly in a message which must ever be celebrated. To the Republicans he said: "You especially should passionately desire order, for if the Republic, which has twice been essayed without success, is this time to succeed, you will owe it to order." And to the Monarchists his words were: "The Republic exists. It is the legal Government of the country; to desire anything else is to desire a revolution of the most formidable sort. Do not let us lose our time in proclaiming the Republic, but let us employ our time in giving it the necessary desirable form. Every government should be conservative, and no society could live under a government of another kind."

This clear and decided pronouncement hastened the outbreak of the storm. If the more advanced Republicans had the wisdom to see that their duty lay in following the lead of Thiers, such was not the case with the Monarchists, who had not the courage to renounce their hopes. They showed their intentions in the Act of the 13th of March, 1873, which made an apparent concession to reasonable ideas by promising the institution of two Chambers to succeed the Assembly, but aimed immediately at protecting the majority from the effect of Thiers' persuasive eloquence, by stipulating that henceforward no vote should be taken in a sitting wherein he had spoken. And having learnt on the 17th of March that in recent conventions concluded with Germany that country had fixed new and earlier dates for the payments of the indemnity, and the consequent evacuation of French territory, the majority thought the moment had come for dispensing safely with Thiers' services. The campaign against him was ably conducted by Buffet, the Duke de Broglie, Ernoul, Magne, &c.; that is to say, by a coalition of the three monarchical groups. The first move was to overturn Jules Grévy and place Buffet in the presidential chair (April 4); then, on a motion to censure the Government for making terms with the most violent Radicals, a majority of sixteen was found to pronounce against Thiers. He was replaced at once by Marshal MacMahon, who had been kept carefully in reserve for such an opportunity (May 24, 1873), and he on the following day formed a ministry under the Premiership of the Duke de Broglie, which was to combat Republican ideas, to govern resolutely and energetically on conservative lines, and to undertake the re-establishment of "moral order" before setting about to solve the constitutional problem.

Numerous and significant changes among the holders of government posts, the administrative suppression of several journals (in certain departments the state of siege still existed), the prohibition to sell or circulate (*colporter*) others, a marked indulgence towards the Catholic agitation—an indulgence which often went so far as to overlook the rights of freethinkers, were all features of the new Government.

But the Republican party, now dominated by the growing influence of Thiers, had the sense to oppose to this gross effort at reaction, a patience and a discipline which cut the ground from under their adversaries' feet. There were no longer any riots, no longer any tumultuous gatherings, only a firm determination to win over the country by degrees to desire the definitive establishment of a Republic, and to impose their will in this respect upon their representatives. No effort even was made to contest the Assembly's right to draft a Constitution, as it was hoped that the Right Centre would detach itself from the majority and give its vote for a democratic form of government.

On their side, the Monarchists deferred as long as possible the inevitable debates upon the Constitution, in the hope that one at least of the three Pretenders would come to an understanding which might facilitate the Restoration, to which in their view MacMahon's Presidency was merely a stop-gap.

And, in fact, in 1873 as in 1850 the more able Monarchists brought about a fusion between the elder and younger branch of the Bourbons. As the Count de Chambord, heir to Charles X., had no children, it seemed quite simple that the Count de Paris, grandson of Louis-Philippe, should let him come first to the throne. Already on the 8th of June, 1871, the Assembly had annulled the Acts of 1832 and 1848, by which the members of the Bourbon and the Orleans families[1] were excluded from French territory, and it seemed as if only a slight effort would be necessary to restore a monarchy in France. But in 1873 as in 1850, even the ablest left out of account the uncompromising attitude of the Count de Chambord. He accepted the submission of his rival and cousin, but refused absolutely to bind himself in advance by any promises to the country of constitutional guarantees, nor would he even accept the tricolour flag. He desired to reign by Right Divine alone, and before the end of October he broke off all negotiations. Out of all these treaties only two things then remained: the anger of the Bonapartists at having been excluded, not without good reason, from the conferences of the colleagues of the Right; and the irritation of the country which, ever since the first mention of a Restoration, had lost no opportunity of returning Republicans at the bye-elections.

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[1] The Assembly had even restored to the latter the value of the property which had been confiscated from them during the Second Empire, a measure to which Thiers had consented in the well-founded belief that the Orleans would discredit themselves in the eyes of the nation by accepting money at a moment when the country was burdened with a heavy war indemnity.

It was not possible, however, to leave France for ever under the Provisional Government which had been proclaimed at Bordeaux on the day after the war. And the leaders of the majority consequently conceived the strange idea of establishing another Provisional Government rather more regular, perhaps even definitive, which should allow the Count de Chambord to die in peace and carry the white flag to his grave, while leaving the throne open to the Count de Paris. Hence the Act of the 19th of November, 1873, which instituted the "Septennate." Article 1 laid down that Marshal MacMahon should continue President for seven years; Article 2 stipulated that within three days the Assembly should nominate a commission to study the question of Constitutional Laws. The Cabinet immediately and spontaneously resigned, so as to leave a free hand to the Marshal; but on the 26th it was reformed once again under the Duke de Broglie, having as before for its members representatives of the different sections of the Right.

This solution—which did not deserve the name—excited so much discontent among the Legitimists, that on various occasions they united with the Republicans simply out of hatred to the younger branch and its adherents. On the other hand it restored courage to the Bonapartists, who, as the lapse of time since the war increased and the weakness of the Monarchists grew more evident, began to hope that they might turn the conservative instincts of the country to their own advantage, and led them to commence an electoral agitation, which in 1874 resulted in their reacquiring a small number of seats.

At the same time the Catholic press, furious at the failure of the attempt at fusion, began to grow restive, and on pretence of discussing the Kulturkampf laws against Prussian Catholics, attacked Germany with such violence, that the Ministry found itself constrained to curb these expressions so as to avoid foreign complications. In vain the Duke de Broglie gave the most incontestable proofs of his "conservatism," by supporting in the Assembly a motion for reducing the number of electors, in accordance with a system resembling that of the notorious law of the 31st of May, 1850,[1] and by carrying through the Municipal Act of the 24th of January, 1874, which restored the right of nominating mayors in all communes to the Executive,[2] and allowed of their being chosen outside the municipal councils. In spite of all this zeal, which gave the exact measure of the pretended Liberalism of his party, De Broglie did not succeed in recovering his leadership of the majority, nor in appeasing the rancour excited by the Septennate. On the 16th of May, 1874, he was overthrown by a coalition of Republicans with an important group of Legitimists and some Bonapartists. The previous coalition, that which had defeated Thiers twelve months earlier, was already broken up. The new one, however, was too heterogeneous to assume the direction of affairs.

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[1] See above, p. 283.

[2] See above, p. 301.

Marshal MacMahon had to seek his new Ministry in the minority which had supported the De Broglie Cabinet up to the last—thus establishing a precedent which has frequently been repeated since. He gave the Premiership to General de Cissey (May 23), as if to accentuate the transitory nature of the combination. But the General was clever enough, and the monarchical majority still disciplined enough, to succeed in adjourning once again the discussion of the Constitution (July 23), and thus prevented the Assembly from pronouncing on the form of government to be given to the country.

There was no reason why the Parliamentary game should not continue indefinitely. When the Assembly was requested to make a declaration on the subject of the Constitution, it refused, and repeated this refusal when urged to allow the country to declare itself by means of a General Election (Proposition of the Left Centre, July 29, 1874). Not being able to establish a Monarchy, it did not choose to consent to a Republic; and as the law placed no limit to the duration of its powers, the unstable equilibrium now existing would probably have continued until the longed-for tardy death of the Count de Chambord, had not the Bonapartist agitation suddenly taken proportions which alarmed such of the Monarchists as still allowed love of public liberty and hatred of the Empire to override their desire for a Restoration.

The Bonapartist agitation took the form in Paris of a Central Committee of Propaganda which demanded a plebiscite, and supported the demand with such violence in the press that the Government had several times to resort to suppression. The party also obtained some electoral successes which, although not numerous, proved that there was a certain Imperialist reawakening in the rural districts.

This revival in militant shape of the Napoleonic idea brought reflection to the Right Centre, whom Thiers had vainly endeavoured to rally to the Republic, and towards the end of 1874 this group threw as much zeal into demanding a Constitution as it had shown in opposing any such movement during preceding sessions. Fear prevailed where reason had been impotent.

There is something both dramatic and comic in the history of the months of January and February, 1875, during which this conversion of the Right Centre was gradually taking place. It was dramatic owing to the primordial gravity of the interests involved, and the uncertainty and narrowness of the voting which more than once threatened the destruction of all hopes. It was comic because of the negotiations and the compromises to which both sides resorted, the obstinacy of the Monarchists in rejecting the Republican chalice when offered, and their dismay at finding themselves vanquished in the end.

Two Acts, however, resulted, one on the Senate (February 24) and another (February 25) on the organisation of the Government. These Acts, joined to a third on the relation between the various powers of Government which passed on the 16th of July, form what is usually known as the Constitution of the year 1875, and this, although twice revised, has continued to exist without essential alteration from the time of its foundation up to the present day. It conferred upon France a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, both elective, which meet in National Assembly either to elect a new President at the expiration of that functionary's seven years of office,[1] or to introduce such changes into the Constitution as both Chambers have previously agreed upon.

The President is held to be irresponsible, except in cases of high treason; and an outgoing President may be re-elected for another seven years. He appoints and dismisses ministers, who sit in Parliament and are jointly and individually responsible to it for their acts. The President, with the consent of the Senate, may dissolve the Chamber.

The Senate is elected for nine years, but one-third of its members are renewable every three years by the vote of an electoral body in the chief town of each department, composed of Deputies, of members of the Councils-General and District Councils (*Conseils d'Arrondissement*), and delegates from the Municipal Councils.[2]

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[1] This rule, known as the Wallon Amendment, was passed by a majority, in the Assembly, of one vote. The Monarchists desired that, at the expiration of MacMahon's term of office, the Constitution might be legally revisable by a Congress formed of the two Chambers, as they hoped by this means to bring about the Restoration. The resolution to transmit regularly the presidential power from one holder to another was regarded, not without reason, as a definitive establishment of the Republic.

[2] Two alterations have been made in this process. Up to 1875 each commune had but one delegate: in that year the number was increased for all the more populous communes. In 1875 also, one-fourth of the Senators, that is 75 out of 300, were irremovable. Having been elected for life by the National Assembly, their successors, in case of death, had to be named by the Senate itself. But

The Deputies to the Chamber are elected for four years by direct universal suffrage.[1]

Both Senators and Deputies are salaried at the rate of 9,000 francs a year, and, with very few exceptions, they are debarred from holding any administrative, judicial, or military post.

Parliament sits for, at least, five months in every year, counting from the second Tuesday in January, and may be summoned to an extraordinary session by the Chief of the State.

To Parliament and the President together belongs the initiative of laws. Parliament questions ministers, discusses the Budget section by section, and gives or withholds its consent to declarations of war and to treaties of delimitation or commerce, none of which may be carried without its authorisation. The Senate has to try ministers whom the Lower Chamber accuses, and, at the instance of the President, takes cognisance of attempts against the security of the State.[2]

The Constitution thus described is certainly far from perfect, and one could certainly desire improvement in one or two particulars. But it is the most

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in 1884 these fixtures were suppressed, and their seats were distributed among the more important departments.

[1] From 1875 to 1885 elections were by uninominal ballot *(scrutin d'arrondissement)*, each *circonscription* having to return one deputy only. From 1885 to 1889 the ballot was departmental, but since 1889 this has been dropped and the earlier method resumed.

[2] The Constitution of 1875 made Versailles the seat of Government, but this was altered in 1879, when Paris once again became the capital. The legal age of Deputies is twenty-five, and of Senators forty. No member of royal families formerly reigning in France can be elected to either Chamber, or appointed President.

elastic and adaptable of any which France has known since 1789. It is free from the rocks on which previous Governments have been wrecked, and it leaves room for inevitable fluctuations of public opinion while sparing the country the experience of unduly sudden shocks. And having sprung from a National Assembly of monarchical tendencies which found itself forced to accept a Republic, it does not represent the particular doctrines of one faction more than of another; while its component parts, to the formation of which the experience of different countries and periods have contributed, are of such a nature as to restrain and counterbalance one another.

To this Constitution the world is indebted for a Parliamentary Republic, a conjunction until then unknown to contemporary history. No abstract principle is embodied in the Constitution, which chiefly set a legal stamp upon the conditions prevailing at the moment of its birth, and adapting these to the needs of the situation, it sought to give them the plasticity indispensable for the satisfaction of future requirements. An experimental Constitution if one will, but which precisely, because of this, differs from any other attempt of the same nature in France.

Laborious as was the task thus undertaken, it by no means exhausted the mission of the National Assembly of 1871. There were Acts to be passed of secondary importance, but none the less necessary to the working of the Constitution—as, for instance, the electoral procedure for Senate and Chamber (Acts of August 2 and November 20, 1875).

The Assembly profited by this prolongation of life to give fresh indications of its state of mind. The day after the voting of the Constitution, the Cissey Cabinet, having been always in a minority, thought it was becoming to offer its resignation to the President. Marshal MacMahon then called upon Buffet, the President of the Assembly, to form a Ministry. Buffet chose the greater number of his colleagues (March 10, 1875) from among the minority which had voted against the Acts of the 24th and 25th of February. This was a singular method of inspiring in the country some confidence in the stability of its laws. Buffet, a former Orleanist, whom circumstances had obliged to inaugurate a form of government opposed to his own dreams, increased the general uneasiness by clearly showing that he wished to govern not only without the Republicans, but in a sense hostile to their views.

The Higher Education Act (July 12, 1875), although excellent in principle, appeared in the light of a new and unwarrantable concession to the pretensions of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as it accorded to that establishment peculiar privileges, denied to laymen, for the institution of schools for instruction in law, medicine, science, and art, and failed to reserve to the State the right of conferring degrees.[1]

The law on the Press (December 29, 1875), while restoring trial by jury in a certain number of cases, still (five years after the sad events of 1871) preserved the state of siege in Paris, Marseilles, and Lyons, and thus testified to an uncalled-for distrust of the results of the coming elections.

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[1] The bestowal of degrees is of particular importance in France, where there is no distinction, such as exists in Germany, between a scientific degree and a certificate of professional ability.

Consequently when the National Assembly at last separated on the 31st of December, 1875, the country hailed its departure with a sense of positive relief.

In spite of eminent services in the beginning of its career, when the nation had to be reconstituted, the outgoing Government was destined to be chiefly remembered for its waste of time and labour in the hopeless attempt to restore the French Monarchy.

In overturning the Liberator of French territory on the 24th of May, 1873, the Assembly had been guilty of the blackest ingratitude, and by failing to replace Thiers by a monarchical prince it had simply accentuated the folly of its own desires. And there was a clear defect of acumen and patriotism in measures which, after keeping the country in suspense as to its political destiny for three years, had finally brought it back to the very point aimed at by Thiers on the 13th of November, 1872.

Indulgence towards the intrigues of the clericals, an incurable distrust of the democracy, an intermittent and merely apparent Liberalism, discontent at not being able to lead France, and total inability to win the confidence of the country, all contributed to render the Assembly unpopular to a degree which, if exaggerated, could not be described as unjustified.

XV.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC.

(*January* 1, 1876—*January*, 1895.)

THE period which opens with the Constitution of 1875 does not yet belong to history proper, being too near to us for the events or the men distinguishing it, to be judged without prejudice or party spirit. The reader will understand that the author, who is engaged in political life, must limit himself to salient facts, without entering into chronological details, or attempting to pronounce any circumstantial judgments on persons who are, for the most part, still living.

The period to be described falls naturally into three distinct parts, of which it will be sufficient to note the principal characteristics in order to make clear the actual condition of the public mind and conduct.

From the end of 1877 almost until 1879 what we find is the epilogue of the dissensions of the National Assembly, the death-throes of the irreconcilable partizans of the Monarchical Restoration. From 1879 to 1885 the triumphant Republic settles down, organises itself, and confers upon the country all that it requires for the education of the Democracy; while at the same time France, now thoroughly reconstituted, throws herself into colonial enterprises. Since 1885 the Republic has vanquished its internal enemies, and restored its external situation, but it has not been equally successful in reducing Parliamentary institutions to a normal state of activity or bringing legislative machinery into regular working order.

The General Elections of 1876 promptly revealed a division of parties which was to prevent France for a long time from obtaining a Parliamentary majority, and consequently a stable form of government.

The Monarchists, unable to resign themselves to the existence of the Republic, were already agitating for a revision of the Constitution. A small group, of which the members called themselves Constitutional, and were often composed of impenitent Orleanists, inspired doubts of their sincerity by the ardour with which they endeavoured to marshal anew the forces of Conservatism, and counted in their ranks some of the Republic's most determined adversaries. The Left Centre, led by Thiers, loyally accepted the new constitutional methods, and claimed to have rallied to them not only those who were never opponents, but also a certain number of old opponents who were now converted. The Republican mass at whose head was Gambetta usually supported the Centre, and rejected all idea of revision, but demanded reforms above all in popular education and in the organisation of the finances. The Extreme Left, small as yet but very active, insisted, in the name of old Republican principles, for a revision by a Constitutional Assembly, which should empower the Government to dismiss the Chief of the State at will, and should submit all fundamental laws to a popular Referendum, should disestablish the Church, impose a progressive tax upon capital and income, and, in compliance with the demands of renascent Socialism, should hand over the adminstration of the Bank of France, of railways, and mines to the State.

It will be seen consequently that the new Constitution was hardly proclaimed before it was attacked simultaneously by two opposing but irreducible factions, both of which were inclined, in spite of their radical differences of opinion, to join in negative votes while remaining incapable of concerting any action towards a definite end.

Responsible Ministers, selected from the Parliamentary mass, thus found themselves confronted simultaneously on the right by reactionaries, who had no real conservative tendencies, but only sought to overturn the Government with the object of effecting a Restoration; and on the left by irreconcilables struggling violently for what they called principles, wild to exercise some influence over the centralised administration which had survived all political changes in France, and, so far from facilitating the accomplishment of any necessary reforms, persisting in always asking something more than, or different from, that which was offered to them.

The situation was aggravated by yet two other political factors—one a legacy from the past, and the other determined by initial accidents in the working of the Constitution of 1875. The first was the prejudice on the subject of personal power which a century of struggle has rooted in the French mind; the second was a feeling of suspicion regarding the Senate which began to spread from the first, and was attributable to the very composition of that body.

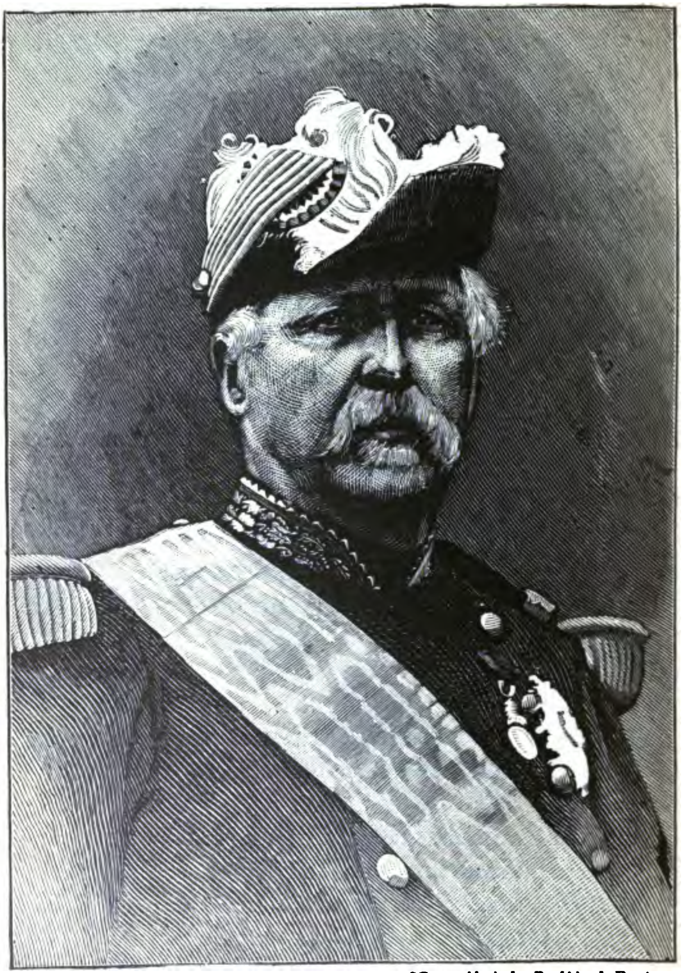
If there is one salient fact in the history of contemporary France, it is that the greater number of governments since the Revolution have perished through the abuse of personal power, while at each successive crisis the nation has cherished the illusion that it only needed to affirm its sovereignty in order that all might go well. Such was the case under Charles X. and Louis-Philippe, and, to a still greater degree, under both Empires.

Now the country did not realise the fact that, after 1875, the governing bodies having become elective and consequently responsible at a given moment for their actions, all there was to be done was to wait until the elections, in order to give expression to the national will.

The Executive, still burdened with the memories of bygone monarchies, and having, through the fault of one man and a clique, infused fresh life into these memories in 1877, has incurred suspicion through the mere fact that it *is* an Executive, and has enjoyed neither the credit nor the authority necessary for the work it has had to do. By degrees it has grown feebler in the face of fragmentary parliaments, and as the first and only use made of its power of dissolving the Chamber (in 1877) was discredited by a shameless electoral pressure as well as by an avowed desire for reaction, the effect has been to falsify the Constitution from the beginning, ministers preferring to succumb before accidental and ephemeral coalitions rather than incur the suspicion of exercising pressure, or seeking to cause a reaction when only making a loyal appeal to the country.

On the other hand it was difficult to gain acceptance for two Chambers from a people exceptionally favourable to simple ideas and to abstract logic. If a people, properly represented by its deputies, is really sovereign, why should the deputies be controlled and restricted in their actions by a second Chamber? This is the specious argument of the French, and the only answer to it lies in considerations of empirical politics such as are little likely to influence our modern irreconcilables.

The argument in question moreover gained a peculiar force from circumstances. For at the very moment when it had been decreed that power should be terminable at a fixed time everywhere, even in the case of the President of the Republic, the National Assembly, in the hope of surviving in substance though not in name—just as the Convention had still existed in the Constitution of the Year III.—conferred election for life, without responsibility of any sort, upon one-fourth of the Senators. And just as the people, in enjoyment at last of universal direct suffrage, had returned to the Chamber 350 Republicans against 150 Monarchists of different sorts, the majority of the Senate, elected by a less representative body, remained attached to monarchical traditions, up to the partial renewal of 1879. This was surely enough to generate and keep alive a feeling of suspicion



[*From photo by E. Appert, Paris.*

MARSHAL MACMAHON.

towards the Senate, which was thus paralysed in its action, and prevented from occupying in the Republic the position anticipated by the authors of the Constitution.

The General Election of 1876, thanks to which this essential discordance between the two Chambers arose, did not discourage the Monarchists. They remained convinced that the establishment of the Republic was a simple accident, and that encouraged by the Senate, and perhaps on occasion instructed by Marshal MacMahon, the President, public opinion would soon veer round to their side. Consequently while keeping up a spirit of resistance in the immediate adherents of MacMahon, they joined the clergy in preparing the ground for a new and speedy electoral conflict. An extraordinary religious agitation began throughout France immediately after the first ballot. Ultramontane demonstrations and petitions for the restoration of the Temporal Power abounded, while the Bishops in their circulars did not wait for an anti-Catholic spirit to show itself in the Republic before beginning to denounce it. In this manner each day added to that fundamental difference between parties which had been marked enough already in the National Assembly, but became still more profound as the struggle between the partisans and the adversaries of the Republic became more embittered.

The Monarchists of all shades turned for support to the powerful hierarchy of the Roman Church, while mere Liberals and simple Democrats alike were forced into opposition to the Church in order to deprive the reactionaries of their last refuge.

This state of things as early as 1876 led in Parliament to frequent sharp conflicts, and to a Ministerial instability which was unfortunately destined to endure.

The Buffet Cabinet resigned after the General Election, feeling that its composition was no longer consonant with the wishes of Parliament.

But in face of the masked hostility of the President and the open opposition of the Senate, where was a new Ministry to be found? Dufaure, who undertook at last to form the Cabinet of the 10th of March, thought it better to select its members from the most moderate and numerically least important fraction of the Republican party. In other words he turned to the Left Centre, and thus pleased neither the President, nor the Senate, nor the majority of Republicans. He succeeded in carrying an Act to the effect that mayors should be elected by the Municipal Councils in all communes not chief towns of departments, arrondissements, or cantons (Law of August 13, 1876), being supported in this measure by the Right, which consisted chiefly of large landed proprietors, who saw in the Act an opportunity for making their authority felt in small rural districts. The Ministry failed, however, in inducing the Senate to restore to the State the monopoly of the bestowal of degrees, and, assailed on all sides, it finally ceded its place to a Cabinet presided over by Jules Simon (December 12, 1876).

The new Ministry being more decidedly Republican than its predecessor, was for that very reason more obnoxious still to the Senate. Its term of office was not marked by any legislative measure of importance, but the few liberal concessions which it was disposed to make, either in the matter of the press or the municipalities, sufficed to bring down upon it all the ferocious hatred of the adversaries of the Republic. At last, on the 16th of May, 1877, Marshal MacMahon, under pretence of his "responsibility towards the country," abruptly dismissed the Cabinet and summoned a new one under the premiership of the Duke de Broglie, which undertook to "make France step out," to restore that "moral order" which it affected to consider compromised, and to bring back men and things to the point where they had been when Thiers fell in 1873.

This ridiculous undertaking, marked in its different phases by the prorogation of Parliament, the dissolution of the Chamber, an odious electoral pressure, and innumerable press trials, resulted in a lamentable fiasco. On the 14th of October the electors returned a Republican majority which was about equal to that of 1876, but the infatuation of the Monarchists was such that even this unmistakable verdict did not suffice to crush them. The Duke de Broglie resigned indeed, but MacMahon, on the 23rd of November, formed an extra-parliamentary Cabinet, directed by General de Rochebouet, and a *coup d'état* was hinted at. Only the refusal of the Chamber to vote the budget and the threats of the little constitutional group in the Chamber induced the Marshal to surrender, and the crisis came to an end without further complications on the 13th of December, when Dufaure succeeded in forming a Ministry. But the length of time during which it had lasted, and the flagrant abuse of power which had marked it, impressed the memory of the crisis ineffaceably on the public mind. Neither the Senate nor the President inspired any further confidence, and the recent dissolution had taken place under such conditions as to render any repetition of it impossible for a long time. The pretended Conservatives, leaders of the late criminal and inglorious campaign, were destined henceforward to be the objects of public mistrust and resentment, while the Republicans, taken by surprise, and forced to defend themselves with desperation, had been exasperated by the share taken in the struggle by priests and functionaries, and, with the resolve that there should be no renewal of such proceedings, they adopted almost unanimously the device of Gambetta: "The enemy is clericalism." They had, however, to temporise for some time yet. Thiers, whom they would have liked to instal as President in the place of MacMahon, had died in September, 1877. The Marshal remained at the helm, and hoped, perhaps, that the first triennial reconstitution of the Senate, which was to take place at the beginning of 1879, would leave a majority to the Right in that assembly, thus enabling him to renew, by other methods, the abortive attempt of May 16th. Moreover, there was to be a Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1878, and Frenchmen of all parties attached a peculiar importance to this, the first international fête, since the disasters of 1870.

There was consequently a momentary truce, or rather all parties were seeking to fortify themselves in the country rather than to agitate in the Chamber.

The Dufaure Ministry owed its lease of existence to this premature calm, and endeavoured chiefly, not without success, to heal the wounds left by the last crisis.

In 1879 the scene changed.

The partial renewal of the Senate having resulted in a Republican majority, Marshal MacMahon seized the first pretext which presented itself to resign; and the two Chambers, meeting at Versailles, appointed Jules Grévy as his successor.[1] Shortly afterwards it was decided to transport the seat of government once more to Paris. This time the Republicans were triumphant everywhere, and the question arose, what would they do with their power?

A great work, which may be considered the organisation of the Republic, was accomplished in the following years. By an Act of the 17th of June, 1880, Government interference was removed from hawking (*colportage*) and the sale of liquors; public meetings were henceforward to be freed from the necessity of any preliminary authorisation, and submitted merely to the formality of a simple declaration on the part of their organisers (June 30, 1881). The Press, thoroughly enfranchised, was to meet with such favourable treatment that it became almost impossible to bring any infringement of the law home to it, so complicated and slow was the judicial machinery brought to bear upon it, and so novel the definitions given of Press offences (July 29,

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[1] M. Jules Grévy was then President of the Chamber, after having occupied the same position in the National Assembly in 1871. He was succeeded in the Chamber by Gambetta.

1881); the Municipal Councils, endowed now with the right of electing mayors in town and country (March 28, 1882), received a great accession of administrative power (April 5, 1884); professional syndicates, or Trade Unions, obtained, for the first time in France, permission to constitute themselves freely (March 21, 1884), while to all other citizens the right of association was still denied, or at any rate made conditional on the consent of Government; divorce, which the Restoration had struck out from the Civil Code, was re-established (July 27, 1884); and if the suppression of military chaplaincies in time of peace (July 8, 1880), and the dismissal of six hundred magistrates who had been compromised politically (August 30, 1883), on the face of them seemed militant measures, the list of legislative reforms enumerated must, on the whole, be considered the most complete and consistent which France has ever witnessed.

The same may be said of the educational reforms. It was not sufficient to bestow facilities for the exercise of their political rights upon the present generation; the Government wished to render future generations better educated and equipped for the fulfilment of their civic duties.

The Acts of the 27th of February and the 18th of March, 1880, on the Supreme Council of Public Instruction, and on the sole right of the State to confer degrees, freed the University of France from all clerical interference without diminishing in any way true liberty of instruction. A law passed on the 21st of December, 1880, placed the secondary instruction of girls on the lines formerly indicated by

Victor Duruy. The training of teachers for elementary schools had formed the object of an Act of the 9th of August, 1879, by which the number of Primary Normal Schools had been greatly increased, and when by the Laws of the 16th of June, 1881, and the 28th of March, 1882, it had been decided to render this instruction gratuitous, compulsory, and lay, the greater part of the programme to which Jules Ferry had given his name was realised.[1]

The victory had not been obtained without difficulty, however, for Monarchists and Catholics alike, still smarting from their recent defeats, had obstinately resisted the introduction into the law of the country of gratuitous and compulsory instruction.

On their side the Republicans, disturbed at the preponderance afforded to the clergy by the law of 1850, had made it a point of honour to exclude from the Public Schools the least trace of the influences of the confessional. Hence arose violent discussions, in which the clerical party declaimed against the "wickedness" of "atheistic" instruction, while their opponents, while not going so far as to threaten the liberty of instruction assured by the laws of 1833, 1850, and 1875, made a vain attempt to refuse this liberty to non-authorised religious associations.[2]

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[1] The Acts of the 30th of October, 1886, on the organisation of teachers, and that of the 19th of July, 1889, on salaries, only crowned the edifice. Mention must also be made of the considerable reforms introduced into the programmes and methods of Higher Public Instruction, and the fresh vitality infused into professional education, as well as into agricultural, industrial, and commercial schools.

[2] Religious congregations have no legal existence apart from a

All the same, France now possesses in all its communes public schools for girls and boys, wherein the programme of instruction and the staff are exclusively lay, but anybody is free to open a competing private school and to impart the religious instruction which may best please him.

For the accomplishment of all these reforms much money was needed, both for building schoolrooms and for meeting annual expenses. Still larger funds were required for the enormous number of public works, such as railroads, canals, improvement of ports, &c., which were carried out during the same period ; and not a few were also wanted for keeping the army abreast of incessant new scientific inventions, and for constantly renewing its material and armament.

Although delighted with the grandeur of all these enterprises, and by the spectacle of the nation's marvellous economical recovery, the Republicans felt compelled to suppress more than a third of the taxes levied after the war. This measure, extremely popular at first, eventually landed its authors in serious difficulties. A too frequent recourse to loans, joined to the deficits following on unexampled expenditure, and the necessity everywhere of increased taxation, caused the Government to regret, when too late, that it had diminished

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preliminary authorisation accorded them by the Government. Many having disregarded this rule, and the Senate having refused to forbid them and especially the Jesuits to educate the youth of the country, a decree of the 29th of March, 1880, ordered the dissolution of all such associations. They were accordingly dissolved amid much excitement, but have almost all been reconstituted since.

the receipts of the Treasury while adding to its burdens.

Nor was this all. Hardly had the difficult battle of liberty been won, public works carried out, and the network of schools established, before France, or rather the Government of the day in France, realised that the country could not, without loss of moral prestige or danger for the future of its sons, remain an indifferent or passive spectator of the colonising impulse which was driving all the nations of the old continent to Asia or Africa, or in any other direction where outlets for trade were to be found.

But little desirous, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, of seeking new European adventures, France had remained scrupulously neutral in the Eastern war of 1877. Her diplomatists had simply joined their efforts to those of other cabinets in order to save what could still be saved of the Ottoman Empire, and they had issued from the Congress of Berlin with "clean hands" (1878). But France could not allow her Algerian colony to be menaced by Italian advances in Tunis, nor that old treaties which she had concluded in Tonquin or in Madagascar should be indefinitely disregarded; and at the same time French explorers were as active in Africa as those of England, of Germany, and other countries. The expedition to Tunisia (1880–81), to Tonquin (1882–85), a first attempt upon the island of Madagascar (1883–85), the foundation of French Congo (1884), the increase of territory in Senegal towards the Soudan, were all enterprises which added enormously to French colonial possessions.

But from all time democracies have been indifferent to foreign glory and averse to distant enterprises, and this forward policy, of which the future alone can reveal the wisdom, brought many bitter disappointments to its authors, especially to Jules Ferry, and, joined to religious dissensions and the financial difficulties of 1884, it furnished a powerful weapon to the adversaries of the Republic and the irreconcilables of the Extreme Left.

All that we have been describing, however, took place amid utter Parliamentary confusion by a kind of collective and anonymous action, and without the possibility of attributing any particular act or event to any one person.

Jules Grévy, influenced by an old prejudice against Gambetta, had not chosen to mark his own assumption of the presidentship by confiding the formation of a Cabinet to the only man who really led the majority in those days. The Ministries of Waddington (February 4, 1879), of Freycinet (December 28, 1879), of Jules Ferry (September 23, 1880), succeeded one another without giving the impression that France was being governed by the men of her choice. One of these ministries would be a little harsher, another a little more indulgent towards the Radicals, but in reality the policy pursued by all was identical, for all had to purchase support by alternate concessions either to the Radical or Right "fringe," and carried out more or less the average aspirations of the Republicans. A situation so essentially false threatened to fatigue the country in the end, and it exhausted the patience of Gambetta, who, when the time for the normal renewal of the Chamber in 1881 approached, conceived the justifiable hope of grouping round himself at last a compact majority which might be independent of either extreme wing. To this end he induced the Chamber to vote for the re-establishment of the departmental ballot for the election of deputies, judging this measure to be the most favourable to good party organisation, but the Act was thrown out by the Senate.

The elections of 1881 took place under the same conditions as before (*scrutin d'arrondissement*, namely), and Gambetta, much annoyed at this check, himself sounded the first blast for a revision, and demanded above all that the Senate should be reformed in a manner which might make it more truly representative of public opinion. Such a demand was not calculated to simplify things. The elections of 1881 [1] resulted in a decisive victory for the Republicans, who carried off four-fifths of the seats, but Gambetta's motion for a revision had thrown the ranks of the Republicans into confusion, and the Chamber was still at the mercy of coalitions of the extremists. The President of the Republic resigned himself to the necessity of calling upon Gambetta to form a Cabinet, but the credit of the tribune had been exhausted in the eyes of the public before being used in the real task of governing. The new Ministry lasted but three months (November 14, 1881 to January 26, 1882), and Gambetta died on the 31st of

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[1] We have no longer to speak of the partial renewals of the Senate. After 1879 every renewal brought an increase in the number of Republican members, so that now the Monarchists in the Upper Chamber are reduced to less than forty votes.

December, 1882, without having had the opportunity of showing exactly what his value in power might have been, and leaving without a leader an important group of deputies whom his personal ascendency had kept united. While he was still alive, but not in the Government, a Freycinet Ministry had been formed, which fell for want of having known how to preserve French influence in Egypt and act conjointly with Great Britain in the valley of the Nile. It was succeeded by a Cabinet under the premiership of Duclerc (August 7, 1882), which did its best to repair the evil wrought. After Gambetta's death the disorder in the Chamber was so great that two ministries perished in the space of two months. But at last Jules Ferry succeeded in forming one (February 21, 1883), which braved the storm for a year and a month, succumbing finally in a sort of Parliamentary cyclone provoked by the announcement of a defeat inflicted on the French forces in Tonquin (March 30, 1885).

This Cabinet, the most durable and the most energetic which has governed France since 1875, had had to settle not only the different legislative and colonial matters already mentioned, but also to undertake the delicate question of revision raised by Gambetta. This was finally decided in 1884 by the law of the 13th of August, which modified the composition of the Senate by suppressing the life-members, and emitted a special decree for increasing the elective representation of the more important communes.[1] The sudden fall of Jules Ferry, caused by a telegram which was immediately afterwards contradicted (peace with China being concluded, in fact, a few days later on advantageous terms), left both Parliament and the public in a deeply disturbed condition of mind, from which neither have yet recovered.

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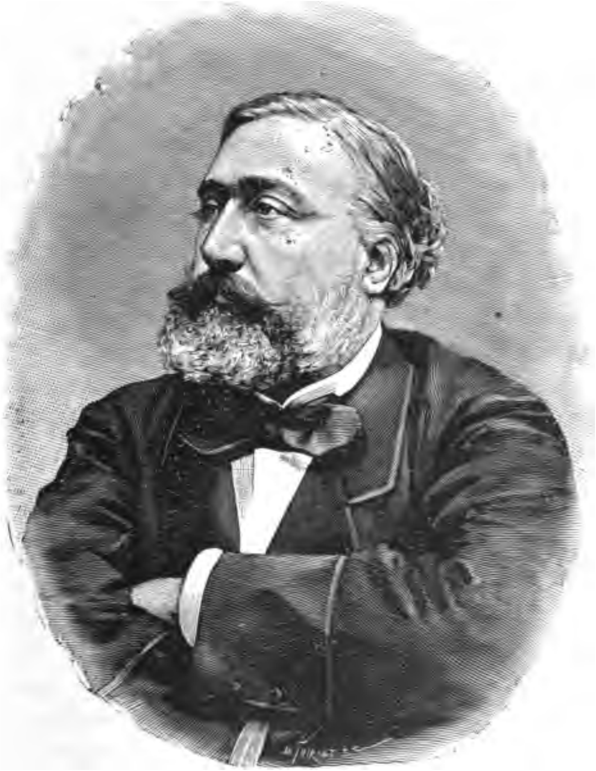
[1] See above.



GAMBETTA.

The Radicals seized the opportunity to form a

Ministry with Brisson for chief (April 7, 1885), while the Monarchists hastened to make capital out of the public uneasiness at the state of affairs in the colonies. The departmental ballot (*scrutin de liste*) for deputies had been re-established just at the moment when the disorganisation of the Republicans was at its height, and the consequence was that at the General Election of 1885 more than a third of the adversaries of the Republic were returned to the Chamber. The resulting tension almost entirely paralysed Parliamentary action. The first symptom of weakness was the re-election of Grévy as President for yet another seven years, in spite of domestic considerations which ought to have caused him to be replaced. Perpetual ministerial crises (a Freycinet Cabinet on January 7, 1886; a Goblet Cabinet on the 11th of December in the same year) proved that even numerous concessions would not avail to introduce discipline into the Radical party, and the only Act of any significance passed during this agitated period was that of the 22nd of June, 1886, which expelled from French territory all members of the families who had reigned in France, and thus gave a not very effectual answer to the offensive tactics lately renewed by the Monarchists.

The Radical Ministry had brought into notice a war minister who was infinitely more of a politician than a soldier. General Boulanger—for he it was—making capital out of jingoism and the growing public discontent, tried to climb into power, and at the same time caused uneasiness to the neighbours of France by his ambiguous and fantastic attitude.

The late colonial policy had possessed the advantage of appeasing the legitimate ambition which lies at the bottom of all human hearts. Since its cessation, and, above all, since the alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy had drawn an iron circle round France and, on pretence of repressing bellicose tendencies which she had never shown, refused her the right of free speech and almost of existence, men's minds had revolted more and more against a position of apparent menace to their country. Internal difficulties, both political and economical,[1] increased this irritation, and prepared the ground for agitation in favour of a Dictator.

The Chamber at last perceived its danger, and after a frontier incident which, for a moment, threatened the peaceful understanding between France and Germany, the Cabinet, of which Boulanger was a member, finally fell (May 30, 1887). The General, however, did not own himself defeated. Being on active military service, he stirred up his friends to lead an attack against the President of the Republic, who had exposed himself to hostile criticism through the indulgence he had shown to the doubtful proceedings of his son-in-law. Grévy, forced to resign, was succeeded by Sadi Carnot, grandson of the great Carnot (December 3, 1887), but the activity of the Boulangists showed no abatement. The

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[1] At this period France was undergoing a formidable agricultural crisis, due in great measure to the ravages of the phyloxera in the vineyards. This gave rise to a movement in support of Protection, which, overthrowing the tariff of 1860, resulted in 1885 in a return to import duties for cereals and cattle, and finally, in 1892, to protective duties on everything except raw material.

General, dismissed from his military functions, formed a so-called National Committee, into which flowed bewildered Radicals and impatient Socialists, reinforced by Monarchists of all shades, Legitimist, Orleanist, and Bonapartist, all delighted at the prospect of overturning the Republic, and, by recommencing the tactics of 1851, prepared to hand over to an adventurer such fragments of good reputation as they still retained. This motley crew, gathering from all points of the horizon, rallied round the banner bearing the inscription, "Dissolution—Revision"; and such is the power of words over disunited and distracted men, that various departments, including even Paris, were found to elect the chief of this so-called "National Party" as their deputy.

The danger was becoming serious. In the Chamber the debates were of unexampled violence. Successive Ministries (Rouvier's of the 30th of May, 1887; Tirard's of the 12th of December, 1887, which was chiefly moderate; and Floquet's of the 3rd of April, 1888, of more Radical tendencies) all failed to obtain a stable majority. A supreme effort was needed to save the Republic and political liberty from being carried off in the whirlwind of a plebiscite. Already in anticipation of the coming General Election, the Floquet Ministry had re-established the ballot by *arrondissement* (February 13, 1889); and the Tirard Cabinet, which succeeded to power a few days later (February 22nd), completed this precautionary measure by the law passed on the 17th of July, which forbade any candidate to present himself for election in more than one constituency at a time.

The Ministry also had the resolution to summon Boulanger before the High Court of Justice in the Senate on a charge of conspiring against the safety of the State. Thus accused, Boulanger revealed his real nature. He fled, and was condemned *in contumacia*, ending his career by suicide two years later in Belgium when his adherents were beaten at the General Election of the 22nd of September, 1889.[1]

Such a political convulsion, requiring such strenuous efforts from the Government, constituted a grave warning to the Republican majority, while simultaneously testifying to the solidity and elasticity of the institutions of 1875.

Outside France, the lesson went home. Convinced at last that the Republic was a reality to be treated with, the Pope, Leo XIII., ordered his bishops to cease their open attacks, and the Czar Alexander III., by his solemn reception of the French squadron at Cronstadt (1891), inaugurated the Franco-Russian alliance. In France itself the recent experience was not quite as fruitful as might have been hoped. The Chamber elected in 1885 had hardly done anything beyond passing two laws: one, of the 24th of July, 1889, for the protection of deserted children, and another on the 15th of the same month which reduced the term of active service in the army to three years, and abolished all the dispensations accorded by the law of 1872, thus rendering compulsory the bearing of arms even for teachers, seminarists who are preparing for the priesthood, and the eldest sons of widows.

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[1] A brilliant Universal Exhibition, got up to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution, took place in Paris during the last months of this crisis.

The Chamber of 1889 showed itself somewhat more capable than its predecessor in achieving a relative ministerial stability, but neither in financial matters nor in what are known as "social reforms" did it pass many useful measures, and generally it may be said that it knew better how to state problems than to solve them. Among the Acts of this period were the suppression of the police certificates (*livrets*) for workmen, the institution of delegates to be elected by miners for the surveillance of mining operations, and a modification introduced into Article 1780 of the Code Civil which put an end to the unjust dismissal of workmen by their masters (July 1 and 8 and December 27, 1890). Other measures of the same sort was the Act of the 31st of October, 1892, limiting the hours of labour for women and children in factories; another of the 27th of December of the same year which established courts of arbitration and reconciliation in the case of strikes; a third, dated June 12, 1893, which concerned the sanitation and safety of workshops; and finally the Act of the 15th of July, 1893, organising gratuitous medical aid in country districts.[1]

But two chief problems on the social side have remained unsolved. The responsibility of masters for the accidents happening to workmen in the course of work has not been determined, and the question of pensions for the old and invalid members of the population, although touched upon, has not been settled.

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[1] The Act of the 30th of December, 1894, for encouraging the construction of cheap houses, and that of the 12th of January, 1895, which secured a large portion of workmen's wages against seizure for debt, must also be credited to the Chamber of 1889, although both only actually became law later.

In the same way the financial system has remained at the point to which it was brought in 1871. On one side it consists in a too extensive imposition of indirect taxes which weigh heavily on the small consumer, and on the other it has neglected to lighten the load of direct taxes borne by the poorer members of the population.

As to the machinery of administration, that has not been sensibly altered for twenty-five years past, but while remaining unduly centralised, it is now directed by ministers whose tenure of power is so unstable that they have no time to master the details of government, while the functionaries in the departments have constantly to take into account the influence likely to be exercised by the senators and deputies of their respective constituencies.

Two Cabinets, one presided over by Freycinet (March 17, 1890), and the other by Loubet (February 27, 1892), had followed Tirard's without the changes of persons bringing with them any important alterations in method or revealing any practical importance in the incidents which had caused the different ministerial crises, when all at once, at the approach in due time of the General Election, a new storm broke out, with consequences which are not yet entirely exhausted.

Certain financial scandals, in which some members of Parliament had been involved, furnished the text for a series of outrageous accusations, calumnies, and defamations which were used to ruin, if possible,

PRESIDENT CARNOT.

whole political parties rather than to mete out proper punishment to the really guilty. These manœuvres, begun by the impenitent Monarchists, did not serve the purpose for which they were designed, since when the General Election took place on the 20th of August, 1893, the reactionary party failed to reconquer the confidence of the country. But the conditions of the moment were useful to the Socialists, who returned fifty members to the new Parliament; and, thanks to the loss of credit inflicted on the Government, even the Anarchist propaganda showed renewed vitality, resulting in various dynamite explosions in 1892, and in the assassination of President Carnot in 1894.

Before and after the General Election of 1893 several Cabinets fell in consequence of the incessant attacks made upon them, and which were favoured by the atmosphere of suspicion and denunciation created by political intriguers, who thus introduced a new element of uneasiness into the time-honoured neorosis of French assemblies. One Ministry after another — Ribot's (December 6, 1892), Charles Dupuy's (April 4, 1893), Casimir Périer's (December 3, 1893), Charles Dupuy's again (July 1, 1894), Ribot's again (January 26, 1895)—succumbed, and even the chiefs of the State were not spared. Casimir Périer, whom the National Assembly had selected as a successor to Carnot, resigned in six months rather than submit to the now habitual insults of Press and Parliament, and the present President, M. Félix Faure, was hardly installed before attacks were made upon his reputation.

This system of polemics has had the double effect of nauseating public opinion, and deterring from political activity various men whose assistance would have been valuable in affairs of the State; and at the same time Parliamentary activity is paralysed by the innumerable incidents arising in the Chamber. Prominence is given to the state of decay into which all the old parties have fallen, with a resulting situation of extreme complexity. A few infatuated deputies cling to the old institutions, and fondly hope that some accident will sooner or later restore a monarchy and replace on the throne one or other of the young princes representing fallen French dynasties. The members of the majority of the old Right are disposed to accept the accomplished fact, but being devoted above all things to the Roman Catholic Church, they hope one day to alter the present military and educational systems, and they are therefore regarded with disfavour even by the most moderate Republicans, besides being often led to neglect the real interests of the Conservative party. The Republicans proper are agreed on somewhat nebulous principles of democratic reform, both social and financial, but being divided on questions of persons and personal influence, they frequently fall out when theories have to be translated into facts, some of their members having the bad habit of promising their constituents far more than they can perform, while others are checked, in the moment of decision, by juridical considerations which no longer respond to the needs of the day. Finally, the Socialists noisily espouse the collectivism of the Germans, turn to their own advantage the strikes which in France and elsewhere periodically paralyse industry, and have obtained the theoretical sympathy of some professors, and even of some preachers, who have at last discovered that it may be useful to the Church to conciliate the working classes. But, on the whole, the Socialists alarm public opinion by their violence, and compromise the success of necessary reforms by the excessive nature of their demands.

In reality, no strong political party has been formed since the spring of 1885, and no Premier has made any profound or durable mark upon the country; nor do the constituencies, offspring as they are of universal suffrage, seem to have a very clear idea of what they expect the Government to do. But, in spite of all, France is peacefully living and developing its resources side by side with, and independently of, the sterile agitation of her politicians.

XVI.

LETTERS, ARTS, AND SCIENCES FROM 1848 TO 1895.

THE first half of the nineteenth century was the great period of historical renovation. The latter half was remarkable for literary criticism. Everything passed through the crucible : romantic idealism, destroyed in the process ; the form of government, also ruined ; and manners, which were exposed to the pitiless analysis of the drama. Sainte-Beuve, Renan, Taine, Auguste Comte, and Dumas fils, are the most remarkable corrosive geniuses ever born in France.

The reaction against romanticism had various consequences. On the literary and artistic side it resulted in naturalism, in science it produced positivism, and in social matters it caused politics to prevail over sociology. Then, as everything in history is mere flux and reflux, the excesses of naturalism produced a mystic reaction, and social problems have recovered the excessive importance which they had at the end of the Government of July. Such are, broadly stated, the general characteristics of the period between 1848 and 1895.

We may remark, once for all, that in all branches we shall find representatives of the generation which reached its culminating point in 1830. It was a vigorous race, and its works, like its influence, lasted well over the first half of the century.

LITERATURE—THE STAGE.

In the present day journalism and the drama exercise an almost preponderating influence. Men have hardly the leisure necessary for serious reading. They require to be immediately and completely instructed on all points. And the same necessity has contributed more than anything else to enlarge the field of literary criticism, and to transform its methods.

The theatre, by its direct appeal to the mind and senses of the spectator, its foreshortened presentment of the most complicated questions, its illumination of a thesis by such aids as gesture, expression, costume, speech, and intonation can afford, has become the best means of establishing an understanding between the author and his public.

All writers of fiction in the present day transport to the boards the themes of their principal novels. Up to 1850 melodrama reigned; it was presently supplanted by the comedy of manners. Tragedy died altogether.

Ponsard's "Charlotte Corday" (1850) is hardly a tragedy, and still less could his "Lion Amoureux" (1866) be so described: they are dramas in verse, partaking of the two styles. The boldness of structure and the novel disregard of classic rules distinguishing these works astonished and distressed the admirers whom the author still retained. But historical drama was at its last gasp, and could not be galvanised into life by subjects borrowed from modern history, even when reproduced with absolute truth, in a sober and solid style.

The dramatic works which met with an unexpected success were those of Alfred de Musset, which Madame Allan-Despreaux brought from St. Petersburg in 1847. They were the offspring of irony—the irony of a poet who had been badly received on his first appearance, and who was now seeking to defy all conventionality. These exquisite pieces—"Le Caprice" (1847), "André del Sarto," "Le Chandelier," "Il ne faut jurer de rien" (1848), "Les Caprices de Marianne" (1851), owed their success chiefly to the eminently dramatic qualities of simplicity, lyrical purity, real feeling, and fine penetration.

Scribe, who had written so many comedies and roused such enthusiasm among the middle classes of a former generation by the every-day morality of such pieces as "La Position," "La Carrière," "L'Argent," who passed for being the prince of dramatists because of the deft construction of his comedies, put together like machines, no longer wrote anything but insignificant, even deplorably bad vaudevilles.

George Sand produced, without great success on the boards, "François le Champi" (1849), "Le Mariage de Victorine" (1851), "Le Marquis de Villemer" (1864), "Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois Doré" (1857), all aristocratic comedies, written in a style of finished diction, wherein appear the eternal themes of man's fundamental selfishness, of woman's innate devotion, of virtue which survives the deepest fall, and of pride which defies every form of misery.

Such were the productions of dramatic authors previously to 1848. Emile Augier and Dumas fils inaugurated a new theatrical style, unknown until near the latter part of the nineteenth century. This was the "problem play," framed in an exact reproduction of contemporary manners.

Of the two, Emile Augier was the less philosophical. He saw correctly, but not far. He was a liberal-minded bourgeois who excelled in representing the manners of his time, and laid bare the soul of the French middle classes under the Second Empire. His first attempts in the line which was to make his reputation were unsuccessful. "La Ciguë" (1844), an elegant rendering of pagan customs, "L'Aventurière" (1848), a defence of family life, and "Gabrielle" (1849), a rehabilitation of that whilom ridiculous personage the injured husband, were more remarkable for sentiment than for characterisation. In the "Mariage d'Olympe" (1855), for the first time Augier frankly adopted that framework of contemporary manners and passions of which Dumas fils had already furnished the example. "Le Gendre de M. Poirier" (1855) has for its theme the meanness of an upstart who uses the social position of a ruined nobleman to secure his own advancement. "Les Lionnes Pauvres" (1858) is a masterpiece which brought into the strong light of the stage a type already created by Balzac in Madame Marneffe, the vile woman who barters her conjugal fidelity for the means of maintaining a luxurious home. "Les Effrontés" (1861) was based on the intrigues of a venal press.

In the "Fils de Giboyer" (1862) Augier sought to write a social drama, taking for his argument the unholy alliance of clericals and legitimists. This attack upon the Jesuits was repeated in "Lions et Renards" (1869), wherein a tremendous battle wages around a dowry of nine millions. Meanwhile, Louis Veuillot had recognised himself in Giboyer. There followed a series of violent polemics which extended to the provinces, where each representation of the piece, made more successful by each fresh scandal, gave rise to challenges, duels, and legal proceedings.

But the new manner he had adopted did not suit Augier, who, in seeking to render his pieces more significant, fell into the error of over-generalisation, and produced false and conventional characters. He recovered his former skill in "Maitre Guérin" (1864). He never did anything better than this cunning, crafty notary, who excelled in twisting the sense of the law, and passed long for being a model husband, yet indulged his sensual appetites as soon as business was disposed of. Augier's next undertaking—after pointing scorn at the courtesan—was, in "Les Fourchambault" (1878) and "Madame Caverlet" (1876), to follow in the footsteps of Dumas fils, and approach the burning questions of the seduced girl whom maternity ennobles, the apotheosis of the natural child, the duties of illegitimate paternity, and the advantages of divorce. These pieces had a great influence.

No writer surpassed Augier in showing that plague-spot of our time—the ravage worked in a modest, respectable household by the greed of luxury, or in representing the tyrannical sway of great financiers over the modern world. Augier was not a writer of the first order, for although his style in prose was strong, clear, and pure, his verse is heavy, laboured, and unrhythmical. But he is a finished artist possessed of the instinct of composition, knowing how to give their proper value to the smallest elements of his subject, and concealing the means by which, with consummate address, he leads up to the capital scenes forming the pivot of his comedy or his drama.

In the hands of Alexandre Dumas fils, contemporary manners made a startling entry upon the boards. "La Dame aux Camélias" (1852), "Diane de Lys" (1853), and "Le Demi-Monde" (1855), showed Augier and others the direction in which lay success. The first-named of these pieces was of a strongly romantic type, for Marguerite Gautier, the courtesan purified by love, had been dear to the school of that name. But Dumas, who had genius, invented an original manner in which he has so far never been equalled. He had a kind of evangelical austerity which not only stamped the concise and rapid dialogue of his dramas, but inspired the eloquent pages of his prefaces. In "Diane de Lys" he already developed the theory—more fully stated with greater force and elevation still in "La Femme de Claude" (1873)—that an adulterous wife should be punished by the hand of the husband she has outraged. "Le Demi-Monde" was an exhaustive study of a hitherto little known and misunderstood world—the world of those women who hold a middle place between the entirely venal and the entirely respectable of their sex.

"Le Fils Naturel" was yet another and a stronger illustration of Dumas' pet theory that the theatre should be the mouthpiece of social reform. He dwelt on the inefficacy of the present law to punish the fathers of natural children, or to ensure to such offspring either the moral or educational training to which they are entitled. "To give life is in some cases more barbarous than to give death," was one of his phrases. The same conviction inspired "Les idées de Madame Aubray" (1867) and "Monsieur Alphonse" (1873). "La Visite de Noces" (1871) and "La Princesse Georges" (1871) render with a terrible intensity all the bitterness, the shame, and the resentment born of illicit love; and all the disgust of a woman too late enlightened falls from the lips of Madame de Morancé in the sentence—"Pah! if we only knew sooner what I know now!" "Monsieur Alphonse," already mentioned, and "L'Etrangère" (1876), drew an inexorable picture of unredeemed and naked perversity, while "La Princesse de Bagdad" (1881), "Denise" (1885), and "Francillon" (1887), gave dramatic expression to social theses and physiological problems of the boldest sort.

Dumas' primary intention was to be a moralist. He hurled violent invectives at prostitution, "that sordid monster which undermines society, breaks up the family, smirches love, dismembers the country, enervates men, dishonours women whose face and appearance it apes, and destroys those who do not destroy it."

Money which poisons marriage, the morality which is indulgent to men, the education which fails to prepare either men or women for domestic life, the laws which sacrifice women and children to the selfishness of men, the prejudices which find excuses for hidden frailty but are inexorable towards the sin springing from ignorance, and are not pacified even by repentance—such were the subjects on which Dumas exercised by turn his powers of denunciation. But the truths thus nakedly and pitilessly presented alarmed the public instead of converting it. The questions of general morality raised with the deliberate intention to irritate were fruitful of misconceptions. They were bitterly contested and passionately denounced. The public is not by nature philosophical, and it failed to reflect on the immense importance of these studies of manners. If moved for an instant, it forgot this impression the moment the curtain had fallen. But what it did not forget were the pictures, intensified by scenic artifices, which had been presented in all their cruel verity to its gaze.

Some truths may be wisely suppressed, or at any rate softened in the telling. They teach nothing to those who already know them, and too much to those who learn them for the first time; and we may ask if there is not some danger in revealing on the boards all the hidden springs of social life.

With these reservations we may admit that, taken altogether, Dumas' dramatic works are admirable from the literary as well as from the professional point of view. He is a master of style, abounding in brilliancy, incisiveness, and vivacity, besides being a consummate artist, enamoured of expedients, and an expert in stage effects, with all the vigour, the precision, and the unfailing penetration of a profound psychologist. He released comedy from its ancient trammels, and made it capable of expressing everything that can be said.

Victorien Sardou abuses the freedom thus conferred. He is always challenging his public, always irritating and dominating it with the airs and graces of a lion-tamer. He began, so to speak, as a caricaturist, in the style of Gavarni or Daumier, exaggerating all his strokes in such pieces as "Les Pattes de Mouche" (1860), "Les Ganaches" (1863), "Les Pommes du Voisin" (1864), and has since tried all styles, from the spectacular to the heroic, from the comedy of middle-class life to the Vaudeville. But whether trifling or in earnest, whether describing manners or creating characters, whether seeking to raise a laugh or to cause pathetic emotions, in "La Famille Benoîton" (1863), "Les Vieux Garçons" (1865), "Rabagas" (1872), "La Patrie" (1869), "L'Oncle Sam" (1873), "Divorçons" (1880), "Fédora" (1882), "Theodora" (1884), "La Tosca" (1887); or "Thermidor" (1891), he makes such excessive use of tricks and sleight-of-hand and puppet-strings, and is so prodigal of great surprises, that even his personages seem mannikins, and their sentiments artificial. Sardou interests, amuses and sometimes even moves his hearers, but he never makes them think.

Labiche is full of natural gaiety, carried sometimes to the verge of indecency ("Le Chapeau de Paille d'Italie" 1862; "Le Voyage de M. Perrichon," 1860; "La Cagnotte," 1864; "Célimare le Bien Aimé" 1863). But even when most farcical he is an observer of good sense, free from pretension or pedantry, and never attitudinising as a moralist. And although his philosophy is of the light-hearted order it does not lack penetration, nor ever lose touch with the human element in comic things. "We have (with Labiche)," writes M. Lanson, "an uneasy feeling that the imbeciles, the eccentric and bewildered people whom he presents to us, are very like ourselves."

An exact account of contemporary drama should include a host of lesser, but still talented authors, who have had their hour of celebrity; but we must limit ourselves to mentioning the graceful proverbs of Octave Feuillet, almost always turning on the interesting struggles of women of thirty-five years against the sentimental passions assailing them when just on the threshold of old age; the charming drama, enlivened by touches of comedy, of Madame Emile de Girardin, entitled "La Joie fait peur" (1854); the piquant, satirical creation of Edouard Pailleron, "Le Monde ou l'on S'Ennuie" (1881); the bright and lively productions of Meilhac and Halévy ("Frou-frou," 1869; "La Boule," 1874; "Lolotte," 1879); "Le Nabab" (1880), "Sapho" (1885), and "L'Obstacle" (1890) of Daudet; "Le Passant" (1869), "Severo Torelli" (1883), and

"Pour la Couronne" (1895) of François Coppée; and finally such sensational melodramas as Dennery's "Deux Orphelines" (1865), and even "Le Maitre de Forges" of Ohnet both of which had a great popular success.

There remains to be noticed only the naturalistic drama, which, while ostensibly representing the reality of life, pictured vice in all its naked hideousness. The first of these attempts, "L'Assommoir," 1879, obtained a prodigious success. Later the "Théâtre Libre" was especially founded with a view to giving scenes so coarse, not to say obscene, that they would not have been tolerated on any public stage. But the spectators were soon wearied and disgusted by this display, and the unmitigated realism of these dramas had a short lease of life. The "Théâtre Libre," falling then into the opposite extreme, became the home of symbolism, and great success attended the productions of authors from the misty North, such as Ibsen and Bjoernsen, as well as the miracle plays of Bouchor ("Tobie," "Noel," "La Legende de Ste. Cécile," 1889–94), played by marionnettes.

It is outside our province to predict what may be the future of French drama. At present there is no sign of any new movement, although two dramatists have lately shown themselves possessed of psychological insight, true emotional faculty and originality of style; namely, M. Jules Lemaître ("Révoltée," 1889; "Le Député Leveau," 1891; "Le Mariage Blanc," 1891; "Le Pardon," 1895), and M. de Curel ("Les Fossiles," 1892; "L'Invitée," 1893; "L'Amour Brode," 1894).

FICTION.

The novel has occupied almost as important a place as the theatre in the literary history of the last fifty years. The two styles have, in fact, been constantly and intimately mixed. Romanticism was definitively vanquished by naturalism, but the latter did not succeed in destroying idealistic fiction, which existed concurrently with the modern school until 1890, and then made a new spring forward.

Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier were the last representatives of Romanticism.

In 1862 Hugo published "Les Misérables," an immense work, crowded and confused, containing twenty novels in outline and not one completed. The most divergent elements meet in this work. Various theories are set forth in it, one being an attack on those invincible prejudices which grant no pardon to the evildoer, another the justification of the criminal by repentance, a third the vindication of the claims of the people as opposed to the *bourgeoisie.* In addition there is an idyll, a celebrated description of the battle of Waterloo, interminable digressions on the Revolution, furious onslaughts on the Church, stirring episodes of street fights in Paris, a sketch of Louis-Philippe, and, above all, a true and deep compassion for the weak.

Ten years later Victor Hugo published "Quatre Vingt-treize," wherein he depicts scenes from the war in La Vendée, and succeeds, perhaps for the first time, in creating characters of flesh and blood instead of mere abstractions. There is life in the democratic gentleman, the rebellious aristocrat, and the unfrocked priest who becomes a fanatical jacobin.

All Hugo's works are crammed with antitheses and caricatures, and their style is declamatory and deformed by a constant effort at extraordinary effects. But they are so vigorous, so original, so full of "go," that, in spite of their unnatural lengthinesses, one reads them with passionate interest.

Gautier published "Le Capitaine Fracasse" in 1863, after thirty years' patient labour at it. There exists nothing more artistic than this charming novel, wherein realistic comedy and unbridled fancy are found side by side. But in these adventures of strolling players in the time of Louis XIII. one must be content to seek nothing beyond a collection of marvellous woodcuts, pictures, so to speak, of which the best is "The Castle of Misery."

Gautier exactly describes his own work when he admonishes the reader to imagine that he is "turning over etchings by Callot or engravings by Abraham Bosse, illustrated by legends." "Spirite," the story of the ideal loves of extra-human personages, laid on in low tones and misty outline, appeared in 1866, and had been preceded in 1858 by the "Romance of a Mummy," which describes the ancient life of Egypt with a wealth of local colouring. These works were the early manifestations on the one hand of that strange taste for the supernatural prevailing of late in England and France, and on the other of those reconstructions of old Byzantine and Alexandrian life which have appeared on the stage or in the guise of novels, and of which

Flaubert's "Salammbô" and the "Thaïs" of Anatole France are examples.

George Sand, after her exquisite pastorals, returned to the novel of fashionable life. Age calmed her, and her novels became simpler, and were free from the old passionate protests against marriage and social injustice. She came to resemble the kind old lady who tells touching stories to her grandchildren. The "Marquis de Villemer" (1860) describes the love arising between a poor young girl and a great nobleman; "Valvèdre" (1861) rehabilitates a husband rising superior to ridicule through inherent force of character, and "Les Beaux Messieurs de Bois Doré" (1858) is a story of old days, a gracious picture of the eighteenth century with its dainty, gallant, and generous ways. But if George Sand's vision of life altered, her descriptions of nature remained unsurpassed, and her style was supple, clear and harmonious to the end.

Our next idealist is Octave Feuillet, who, when materialism in literature was already pronounced, struck a note that was almost unnatural. The scene of his novels is laid in the fashionable world of aristocracy or wealth. His personages are all heroic-hearted, with exceptional passions, unfailing good breeding, and a somewhat finikin grace. The framework is always the same: beautiful gardens, correct cascades, pleasant plantations, and as the episodes of the story are also of little variety, the reader is fatigued by a sense of monotony. "Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre" (1858), "Julia de Trécœur" (1872), "Les Amours de

Philippe" (1887), are all romantic, passionate, witty, poetical, and delicately written. Vice in these pages is amiable, and virtue a seductive coquette. They seem expressly written for those fashionable ladies who, in the words of X. Aubryet, "love to talk of the forbidden fruit, but are careful never to taste it. M. Feuillet," continues the same writer, "has invented for their benefit the libertinage of chastity." We must omit "Monsieur de Camors" from this judgment, that being Feuillet's greatest work, wherein the two principal characters, an ambitious and sensual politician and a guilty, almost cynical woman, are drawn with a vigour unusual in the author.

Theuriet, who is a pleasing, amiable writer, may be regarded as a faithful disciple of George Sand. Passionately fond of nature, he prefers above all to describe the woods and streams of Lorraine. Against this fresh, umbrageous background he has placed charming middle-class idylls, such as "Le Mariage de Gérard" (1875), "Raymonde" (1877), "Sauvageonne" (1880), or little dramas diversifying the existence of Government functionaries—a subject in which he is quite at home. Examples of the latter sort are: "Le Journal de Tristan" (1883), "Eusèbe Lombard" (1885), "L'Affaire Froideville" (1887).

Cherbuliez weaves complicated plots of which the scene is usually laid in foreign countries ("Le Comte Kostia," 1863; "L'Aventure de Ladislas Bolski," 1869; "Meta Holdenis," 1873). He has a light touch and a fine irony, and excels in diversifying his story with piquant conversations on the art, the science, and sociology of the day.

Alexandre Dumas fils is an idealist in his elevated sentiments and moral didacticism, but a realist in the cruel truth of his pictures of life. As we have already shown, his chief productions are dramatic, but he began his task of legal and social regeneration by such novels as "La Dame aux Camélias" (1848), "L'Affaire Clemenceau" (1867), "La Dame aux Perles" (1853), and "Sophie Printemps" (1853), which rank in literary history through the brilliancy of their style, the precision and lucidity of their language, and their amazing flow of penetrating and original wit.

Chamfleury was the first realistic novelist, but his commonplace style renders "Les Bourgeois de Molinchart" (1855) alone worthy of mention among his works.

The same may be said of Henri Monnier, who created the famous type of "Joseph Prudhomme."

Gustave Flaubert gave an original turn to fiction, and his masterpieces have served as types and models for the Naturalist school, which during the last twenty-five years has exercised a predominating influence in Literature and Art. Nevertheless he fell more than anybody under the spell of Romanticism, and derived from Théophile Gautier his horror of the bourgeois, his vigour of speech, and his theory of Art for Art. Flaubert owed to Romanticism his richness of colouring and consummate power of expression; but differed essentially from it in his uncompromising artistic principles which forbade his introducing his own personality into his works, and made him preserve an attitude of complete impassibility in the midst of the most perfect expression. The success of

"Madame Bovary" (1857), the finest of contemporary novels, ruined romantic fiction. The minute study of the sentimental heroine brought into relief the conclusion that the vague aspirations and transcendental emotions suggested by romantic literature may engender immorality and be responsible for abject falls and sordid misery. The analytic truth, and sober yet energetic style of "Madame Bovary," leave an impression on the mind of the reader compounded of strength, of tragic grandeur and profound sadness; and this impression is deepened to the point of pain by "L'Éducation Sentimentale" (1869), which describes in the same coldly impersonal manner the slow and progressive extinction of a fine nature under the monotony and purposelessness of provincial middle-class life. This same theme is resumed in "Bouvard and Pécuchet" (1881), where the effect produced is absolutely stupefying. "L'Histoire d'un Cœur Simple" (1877) is marvellous for refinement of style and psychological analysis; while "Salammbô" (1862) reproduces in a brilliant and picturesque form, almost too richly coloured, the life of a vanished civilisation. Neither of these works, however, are in the peculiar style of Flaubert, who endeavoured, by an attentive study of the texts at his disposal, by erudite research, and a journey to the scene of his novels, to realise the manner in which the Carthaginians lived, and all that he offers to the reader is the result of this patient inquiry, presented without any preconceived idea or any effort of imagination.

Flaubert produced but little owing to the slowness with which he worked and his literary conscientiousness. He never would offer anything to the reader which was not as perfect as possible. He created immortal types through the care which he took to bring into relief the smallest details of his personages' individuality. Art was his only religion—the art which consoles for all miseries, moral or psychological.

The brothers de Goncourt pretend to be the inventors of Naturalism, but that is not absolutely the case. Like Flaubert they endeavoured to banish imagination from their works, and to copy nature faithfully. Replacing psychology by physiology and pathology, their method, like that of a superior sort of reporter, was to collect all possible documentary evidence regarding the fashions, modes of dress and states of mind of the persons with whom they proceeded to fill their books. "Soeur Philomène" (1861), "Renée Mauperin" (1864), "Germinie Lacerteux" (1865), "Manette Salomon" (1867), "Les Frères Zemganno" (1879), and "La Faustin" (1882), simply display the booty which the writers picked up in the hospitals, the almshouses, the social Bohemia, and the world of "hysterics," studio "devils," and charlatans which they frequented. The Goncourts were very successful in painting the modern young girl, especially the fashionable Parisian variety, with all the artifices of mind which she owes to an excessive refinement of civilisation. They created the so-called "impressionist" style which eliminated from the language all the colourless words unproductive of sensations.

Emile Zola has always been the uncontested master of the Naturalist school, having established his claim not only by the talent which inspired his works, but by the programmes and manifestoes in which he explained his doctrines. He maintained the possibility of experimental fiction, derived from experimental physiology. He adopted the conclusions and the theories of Claude Bernard, of Taine and Comte. "The experimental novel," he said, "is a consequence of the scientific evolution of our age. It continues and completes physiology, which in its turn is based upon chemistry and physics. It replaces the study of abstract, metaphysical man, by the study of the natural man, the resultant of physico-chemical laws joined to the influence of his surroundings. Just as classical and romantic literature corresponded to an age of scholasticism and theology, so does the experimental novel correspond to the present predominance of science."

On this foundation Zola has built up a vast monument entitled "Les Rougon-Macquart; the natural and Social History of a Family under the Second Empire" (1871–93), wherein he sets forth the laws which govern temperaments, such as heredity and pathological accidents. If Zola has not thoroughly applied his fine scientific theory, it is because it is inapplicable to a novel. It is impossible, it is even puerile to attempt to establish a similarity between an experiment made in a laboratory upon definite quantities, and a fictitious experiment of which the scene is an author's brain and which proceeds upon pure hypotheses. Zola consequently has only succeeded in collecting an enormous quantity of human documents, which he has used in successive chapters of his history of the Rougon-Macquart family—none of whose members are otherwise related than by an artificial genealogical tree—to describe professional peculiarities, pathological cases and social strata. "La Curée" (1872) is an account of the fast fashionable women of the Second Empire; "Le Ventre de Paris" (1873) describes the great Parisian provision markets; "La faute de l'Abbé Mouret" details the consequences of priestly celibacy; "L'Assommoir" (1877) deals with the working-classes and the disastrous results of alcoholism; "Pot Bouille" (1882) is a picture of middle-class life; "Au Bonheur des Dames" (1883) is a picture of the great shops; "Germinal" (1885) describes the life of miners, "La Terre" that of French peasants; "La Bête Humaine" (1890) is a narrative of railways, "L'Argent" (1891) of the Bourse, and "Lourdes" (1894), of a great pilgrimage.

Zola is no psychologist, and all he sees in his personages are appetites or physiological disorders. The women whom he loves to describe without disguise have only sensations or temperaments ("Thérèse Raquin" is a sanguine temperament, "Madeleine Férat" a nervous specimen). But he possesses a potent imagination which exaggerates reality to the pitch of prodigy. His descriptions—and they are so voluminous as to occupy in each work almost as much space as the narrative itself—are of such force and intensity as in certain cases almost to attain to hallucination. He endows inert things with life, with will, with thought. A locomotive, a mine, a big shop become in his hands fantastic giants which threaten, crush and devour poor human creatures. For the same reason he excels in describing masses, crowds, and collectivities, or such incidents as strikes, riots, pilgrimages or racecourses. These events become for him colossal beings with a life of their own. The same method was employed by Victor Hugo in "Notre Dame de Paris," and it has been said, not without reason, that Zola's novels are sociological epics.

It is this which makes their greatness, joined to the immense pity they reveal for the poor victims of surrounding influences, at a time when science has proclaimed these influences to be the law of individual development. And we may attribute to the same qualities the enormous success achieved by Zola, not only in France, but in England and America, rather than to a depraved enjoyment of those brutal realisms of description by which the general applause has too often been explained. In the matter of style our author is deficient, but he is vigorous and incontestably exact in his choice of terms, and redeems, by delicate gradations, original imagery, and convincing enthusiasm the brutalities, audacities, and wearisome prolixities of his works.

Alphonse Daudet has emancipated himself on some sides from the influence of naturalism, while submitting to it fully on others. He also makes use of human documents and employs the same system of notation as the Goncourts, but soul and sensibility enter largely into his picturesque realism. With contagious emotion, in brilliant, incisive language, and by means of accumulated little pictures of which the effect is like marqueterie, he reproduces the existence of people of no importance, such as employés, workwomen, or small shopkeepers, in all the phases of their hard struggles and the poignant episodes of their daily fight with want ("Le Petit Chose," 1868; "Jack," 1876; "Fromont Jeune et Risler Ainé," 1874). Thanks to the patient series of observations made when he was secretary to the Duke de Morny, he was able in "Le Nabab" (1877) to describe the voluptuousness and selfishness of Paris under the Second Empire; and in "Les Rois en Exil" (1879) to recount the grandeur and pathos of the existence of dethroned sovereigns; while "L'Immortel," published in 1888, deals especially with the famous Institute of France. He dwells lovingly on the sunny landscapes of Provence, as well as on its manners, its legendary types, its good-humour, its incorrigible fanfaronade, and its spirit of enterprise and intrigue ("Tartarin de Tarascon," 1872; "Tartarin sur les Alpes," 1885; "Numa Roumestan," 1881). In "Sapho" (1884), a painful study of illicit relations, he revealed himself as a profound and keen psychological observer, and his "Evangéliste," published in 1883, is a masterly description of religious fanaticism.

Guy de Maupassant, if not the true master of the Naturalist school, may fairly be entitled its classic. He most resembles Flaubert, in his sobriety, his force, his absence of sensibility, his simple, vigorous style, and the exactness of his observation. A haughty, ironical pessimist, with a scarcely concealed contempt for mankind, his only conception of the world is that of the constant pursuit of material advantages, comfort, enjoyment, and happiness. He excels in creating vulgar types ("La Maison Tellier," 1881; "Mdlle. Fifi," 1882; "Les Soeurs Rondoli," 1884; "La Petite Roque," 1886). "Une Vie" (1885) is a masterly account, exact and mournful, of one of those many colourless lives of middle-class women who know only brief and commonplace joys, only mean if painful disappointments. Maupassant has pitilessly exposed the real existence of the politicians and journalists—too common nowadays—to whom all means are good so long as they lead to success, that is to money, power, and pleasure ("Bel-Ami," 1885).

Maupassant is the last serious exponent of Naturalism. After him the idealists come once more to the front. Anatole France, who resembles Renan in his irony and scepticism, and is himself witty and very artistic, introduces once more into novels the personality of the writer. "Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard" (1881), "Thaïs" (1890), "La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque" (1893), "Le Lys Rouge" (1894), merely recount the episodes and sensations suggested to the author's own supple and perspicacious mind by his enchanted wanderings through various worlds, old and new, Paris and Florence, the Thebaïd and the Institute, the Schools of the eighteenth century and those of Alexandria.

Bourget is an ardent psychologist, and fiction is to him a vehicle for the analysis of those most indefinable of all sentiments, the refined feelings of the heart, for discourses on love and dissection of souls, the souls of women with perverse and complex natures ("Cruelle Enigme," 1885; "Mensonges," 1887; "Un Cœur de Femme," 1890; "Un Crime d'Amour," 1886; "Cosmopolis," 1892), the souls of young men whom a philosophical education has perverted ("Le Disciple," 1889) or who are consumed with hatred, as in "André Cornelis" (1887). Bourget is far from being a naturalistic writer. He prefers describing depth and delicacy of feeling to the dryness of studying the physiology of passion.

Pierre Loti is a curious reversion to the style of Bernardin de St. Pierre and Chateaubriand, although differing essentially from them by his modern spirit and his profound pessimism. Nature is nothing but a succession of phenomena, therefore man should make haste to enjoy his sensations, which are at once doubled by the idea that they cannot last, and diminished by the certainty of their approaching annihilation. Hence the deep melancholy of Loti—a melancholy which must not be confounded with that *mal du siècle* oppressing René. Loti paints nature admirably. His descriptions of Sénégal in "Le Roman d'un Spahi" (1881), his pictures of the ocean and of Brittany in "Mon frère Yves" (1883) and "Pécheurs d'Islande" (1886), and of the extreme East in "Madame Chrysanthème" (1887) and "Le Mariage de Loti" (1882), are full of a picturesqueness which nobody since Chateaubriand has rendered so faithfully.

The realism of Balzac then passed by degrees into the elegant realism of Flaubert and the naturalism of Zola. Fiction contented itself with celebrating natural forces, animal life, and even mechanical organisms such as a locomotive or the shaft of a mine. Then little by little once more idealism resumed its sway. But naturalism will at any rate have achieved this much, that henceforward the least realistic of novelists will be forced to observe life. And at present there are no schools. Every writer works on his own lines.

P. Hervieu, author of "Peints par Eux-mêmes" (1893), "L'Armature" (1865), and M. Prévost, to whom we owe "Lettres de Femmes" (1892), "Les Demi-Vierges" (1894), "Notre Compagne" (1895), are keen and not too indulgent analysers of aristocratic devices; while P. Margueritte in "Pascal Gefosse" (1887), "La Force des Choses" (1892), and "La Tourmente" (1893), as well as Rosny in "L'Impérieuse Conté" (1894), and "L'Indomptée" (1894), bring to the consideration of the social problems of the day a sincere and remarkable sympathy for the weak, the suffering, and the poor.

POETRY.

In poetry, Romanticism, thanks to Victor Hugo, took a fresh lease of twenty-five years of life. From his retreat in Guernsey, whither the disappointed ambition to play a political part had driven him, Hugo hurled against the Empire his satirical lyric, "Les Châtiments" (1853), which, inspired by anger against those who had sacrilegiously attacked his person, and by the bitterness of ten years' deluded expectation, contained magnificent affirmations of Right against Might, sublime vindications of justice opposed to violence, and a superb expression of confidence in the reparations promised by a future life.

Three years later, in 1856, appeared "Les Contemplations." Here Hugo appears as appeased in his wrath and resentment, as absorbed in meditation on his Ego and satisfaction at duties accomplished, and consoled by belief in the grandeur of universal progress. In 1859 he began, and completed between 1877 and 1883, "La Légende des Siècles," a poem unexampled in French literature, which, in a series of magnificent symbolical pictures, sums up all the poet's humanitarian philosophy, his belief in God, his devotion to the people, his scorn of kings and priests. Later he underwent that strange erotic crisis which Renan and Michelet also experienced at one time, and he abandoned himself in his "Chansons des Rues et des Bois" (1865) to an outburst of Rabelaisian gaiety.

On the fall of the Empire he returned to Paris, and was moved by the horrors of the siege to write "L'Année Terrible" (1872), while family affection inspired "L'Art d'être Grandpère" (1877). Living, he "entered upon immortality," and his funeral was an apotheosis. He had become the idol of the people, not only through his genius but through his exile, his love for humanity, his pity for the humble and the miserable, the opportuneness of his political conversions, his rather coarse temperament, his passion for puns, his knack of unmeasured invective, his surface familiarity, his adoration, over-advertised perhaps, for his grandchildren, the little Georges and Jeanne, his immoderate pride, his imposing solemnity and his green old age.

Victor Hugo filled the nineteenth century with his personality and writings, just as Voltaire did the eighteenth. On literature his influence was immense, as he gave Romanticism a formula and traced out the path it was to follow, while enriching the imagination and the language of his contemporaries. But he remained to the end the man he had been in 1830, while the taste of the public changed, and although as long as he lived in Guernsey his books were eagerly read as having all the flavour of forbidden fruit, from the moment that he returned to France they received merely a respectful attention, to which he was not blind and which annoyed him.

By the year 1848 Romanticism was a fashion of the past. Théophile Gautier himself had abandoned it, and in his "Emaux et Camées," published in 1852, he thought only of applying thoroughly his theory of Art for Art's sake, which, dispensing with ideas, was concerned exclusively with beauty of form. And Théodore de Banville, that marvellous juggler of rhymes and rhythms ("Odelettes," 1857, and "Odes Funambulesques," 1857), who had also at one time been a fervent "Romantic," repudiated all sentiment and attached himself simply to the jingle and colour of words and sounds.

With the exception, then, of Victor Hugo all the poets underwent a transformation. The bold and startling symbolism of Baudelaire, the beauty of form and deliberate *bizarrerie* of his "Fleurs du Mal" (1857), formed a connecting link with the purely impersonal and objective art of Leconte de Lisle, as expressed in "Poèmes Antiques" (1883), "Poèmes Barbares" (1859), and "Poèmes Tragiques" (1884).

This poet, so pessimistic, ironical, and lofty, traversed the whole cycle of illusory religious beliefs, none of which brought him the assurance of eternity since they all passed in succession like the phenomena of life. There is mournfulness in the spectacle of these various fugitive shapes, under which humanity, shrinking from the idea of death, has sought to perpetuate itself. But the phenomena of life are attractive in appearance, and Leconte de Lisle transcribed them, as they passed, with a wealth of colouring and a stateliness of form which no other poet has ever equalled.

He was the founder of a school, and drew around him the so-called "Parnassiens" (1866–76), who turned to Ancient Greece for their inspiration, and were all remarkable for beauty and purity of form.

Objective poetry thus created took various forms. Leconte de Lisle had sought his subjects in archæology and history; but Sully-Prudhomme, in "La Justice" (1878) and "Le Bonheur" (1888), inclined to philosophy and science, revealing himself, once more, therein as a profound pessimist deeply sensitive to human misery and compassionate towards all the weak and suffering.

François Coppée gave a naturalistic turn to poetry, and in "La Grève des Forgerons" (1869), "Les Humbles" (1872), and "Promenades et Intérieurs" (1872) he endeavoured to reproduce the humbler forms of popular life, but lacks the sentiment and the breadth which such subjects require.

J. M. de Heredia ("Les Trophées," 1893) resembles Leconte de Lisle and Théophile Gautier in his perfection and the brilliancy of his verse, each small line of which is admirably finished.

Verlaine, who is at once simple and refined, straightforward and complex ("Jadis et Naguère," 1885; "Parallèlement, 1889), is nearer to true naturalism than Coppée. Everywhere around us now are interesting groups of symbolists and decadents, enamoured of art and mystery, but bizarre, involved and obscure. We have no longer any great poet.

CRITICISM.

Criticism, as we have already remarked, exercised a preponderating influence over the second half of the nineteenth century. Since the apparition of Romanticism, erudition had increased enormously. The past literature of France was more extensively studied and compared with the treasures of foreign literature. In history, philosophy, and science a rich harvest had been reaped; writers grew in numbers and their productions showed the vigour of youth and strength.

Criticism underwent a corresponding transformation, and instead of contenting itself, as in the last century, with offering accepted models to the writers of the day for imitation, it proceeded to effect a synthesis of the results of the far-reaching, recent investigations into all branches of human science.

Sainte-Beuve is the great creator of this objective and realistic criticism. His marvellously wide and flexible intelligence was possessed with the desire of understanding all things and making all things understood. He studied individuals with intense curiosity, so as to retrace, if possible, the causes of the dawn of literature. Instead of judging by general principles, as Villemain did, and finding the historical explanation of a writer in the period wherein he lived, Sainte-Beuve first of all tried to understand his existence, inquired into his ancestry and education, asked who was his wife or mistress or friends, what his children were like, what had been the incidents of his career or the nature of his temperament, and with the help of these details he reconstructed the author's works. Then after taking the living machine bit by bit to pieces, and showing all its wheels, he would put it together again, and with consummate ability make the organism he had thus re-endowed with vitality perform all its functions under our eyes. From that moment the most complicated machine had no longer any secrets for us, and we can understand why Sainte-Beuve has left no later critic anything to say about the writers whom he dissected.

Pursuing and extending his peculiar method, he discovered groups of minds, and endeavoured, so to speak, to write their natural history. Thus, in his own way, he followed that great scientific current of the century which had already suggested to Balzac the idea of writing his "Comédie Humaine." Indeed we may well quote M. Sorel, and say that the famous "Lundis" (1857–62) were another and greater "Comédie Humaine."

Sainte-Beuve left a surprising collection of word-portraits. If he did not succeed in imparting a really scientific character to criticism, it was because original people amused and interested him more than abstractions. Consequently his systematic pretensions are not to be taken seriously, a really scientific form of criticism being quite as impossible to achieve as a really scientific novel. The experiment, nevertheless, was resumed by Taine, who, with his philosophical determinist tendencies, sought to apply to literary criticism the methods and terminology of science. "Here, as everywhere, the problem is purely mechanical," he said; "and the resultant is determined by the amount and direction of the forces producing it."

Now the determinant causes of literature are race, and surrounding influences and period. Shakespeare, Milton, and other English geniuses ("Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise," 1863) could only arise in the climate peculiar to England, under certain historical conditions and the pressure of peculiar religious beliefs.

The fables of Lafontaine ("Essai sur Lafontaine et ses Fables," 1853) are the inevitable resultant of many causes, such as the writer's country and native place, his mode of existence, the state of manners and literature under Louis XIV., &c. Sainte-Beuve saw only individualities; Taine is deliberately blind to them—or rather, if he takes into account the particular character formed by the period, race, and surrounding circumstances, he disregards the originality which is essentially its own, and to which none of these circumstances have contributed, and finally fails to explain why Shakespeare or Lafontaine should be geniuses instead of mediocrities.

The method of Taine is, however, fundamentally experimental, and, as such, of incomparable effectiveness, and would indeed be perfect if it could be applied by an absolutely impartial mind. "Very small facts, carefully chosen, important and significant in themselves, largely circumstantiated and minutely described, form in the present day the material of all science." But the evil is that such small facts may be collected with a preconceived notion, and applied to the demonstration of a foregone conclusion. They recall too much the documentary evidence which Benjamin Constant had gathered together against an attack on the part of the Church, and which, when his ideas changed, turned out to be easily susceptible of constituting an apology. Taine had an immense influence over our generation, and contributed more than anybody to the development of naturalism. From him have been borrowed the note-book, the ardent interest in nevrosis, the scientific attitude and the pessimism of contemporary writers, many of whom also owe to him the lofty idea they have of their mission.

Fromentin adopted in art criticism the methods of Sainte-Beuve. To Taine he is indebted for his subtle psychology, and the share of influence over the artists which he assigns to the period, race, and surrounding influences, but differs from him on the important point of individual originality to which he does full justice ("Les Maitres d'Autrefois," 1876).

F. Brunetière, succeeding to Sainte-Beuve and

Taine, was the author of an innovation which introduced into criticism the scientific theory of evolution. Although a pessimist, like all the greater minds of this century-end, he is by nature a combatant rather than a dreamer, and, with a reasoned conviction which is a force in itself and a rather rough mode of argument, he undertook to revive the classical traditions of the eighteenth century, by attacking and overthrowing naturalism ("Histoire et Littérature," 1883; "Le Roman Naturaliste," 1883; "L'Evolution des Genres," 1890). He even broke a lance with science itself by demonstrating its inability to explain or to satisfy the thirst for an ideal which devours humanity.

J. Lemaître, curious, ironical, and highly artistic, loves clearness and truth, and pursues them even while appearing only to be juggling with ideas ("Les Contemporains," 1886, *et seq.*; "Impressions de Théâtre," 1888, *et seq.*). He is also soft-hearted, but masks his very fine sensibility under an appearance of sceptical raillery.

F. Sarcey has for thirty years been the high-priest of dramatic criticism. His method is simple. He limits himself to the *technique* of the theatre, and finds fault with everything which does not conform to it. His only tribunal is the taste of the public, to which he always bows, and he applies this favourite test with intelligence, good-humour, and a peculiar competence which has never been surpassed.

PHILOSOPHY.

Under the influence of Comte and Claude Bernard philosophy became more and more deeply imbued with science. In 1852 Comte published his "Positivist Catechism," in which, modifying his original tendency to disregard everything but phenomena, he inclined to attribute more and more importance to Cause.

Littré, Comte's principal disciple, upheld against the master the original principles of Positivism, and yet he also came to recognise eventually that "organs only arise through or for an adaptation of organised nature to its ends," which almost amounts to the admission that living nature has intentional movements, and that every phenomenon of life reveals a Thought.

Taine began the demolition, piece by piece, of the Eclectic school ("Les Philosophes Français du XIVme Siècle," 1857). He completed Positivism by applying analysis to the study of intelligence ("De L'Intelligence," 1870) and making mental analysis the one method of acquiring knowledge. The mind in this theory, which, when all is said, explains nothing, is "only a flux and group (*faisceau*) of sensations and impulses which, when seen on another side, are merely a flux and group of nervous vibrations." The Idea is merely an image, and the image a sensation. By this system psychology is brought back to physiology, and we are plunged in sheer materialism. Taine's theory nevertheless had a marked influence on literature, and forced philosophy to take into account, more fully than before, the very close bonds existing between the moral and physical worlds.

Renan has affirmed the determinism of phenomena with more energy than Taine ("Averroes," 1852; "L'Avenir de la Science," 1890, and other works). Phenomena, he maintains, are to be explained by natural laws whose regularity excludes the idea of all superior and exceptional intervention. With such a system metaphysics cannot exist. On the other hand, science is not absolute; our ideas are all relative, and truth and falsehood only differ by degrees. Philosophy should simply be a form of criticism limiting itself to investigation and comparison, but never pronouncing a judgment. Let us now consider the application of this general theory. The world in its primitive state was composed of atoms whose properties were purely mechanical. It has reached its present condition by a series of slow and continuous transformations, through which life became more and more complex and more and more perfect. But time alone does not suffice to explain these transformations. To the real factor a hypothetical one must be added, and this we call the universal tendency to progress, which brings us back to a kind of transcendental idealism.

Renan's determinism, applied to religious belief, proves by scientific, historical, and philological reasoning that religions are all relative and of human origin, and the very luminous working-out of this idea has caused it to be generally accepted. For the rest, Renan admits faith, which is indestructible by criticism, but he has cleared the ground of all misunderstandings. "One must either believe like a child," or one must be a determinist. One of the most remarkable consequences of this alternative is the broad and true tolerance to which it leads in matters of belief. Renan has made it impossible for men, whom Revelation does not satisfy, to believe, but he has also made wars of religion equally impossible. Practically he has taught that the end of thought should be the search for truth which excludes all miracles, while the object of the Will should be Good, which excludes egotism. Renan has been very badly judged, but the world has come to a better understanding of him since the publication of his letters. The public in general is not very accessible to elevated and rather abstract ideas, and it only saw in Renan a sceptical *dilettante* who applied himself with incomparable grace and a dazzling wealth of imagination and beauty of style to juggling with the most formidable problems and the emptiest futilities. To tell the truth, he rather encouraged this misunderstanding by the ironical indulgence which he never could help exhibiting towards frivolous women of fashion and fools of all worlds. This was a survival of his ecclesiastical education.

Criticism is so entirely the dominant characteristic of this century-end that Renouvier, adopting and continuing the method of Kant, has based it upon philosophy ("Essais de Critique Général," 1854–64), and by means of this doctrine energetically combats both positivism and idealistic spiritualism, of which the first only considers the Represented and neglects the Representative, while the other has regard merely to the Representative and excludes the Represented. Renouvier's views lead to liberty, immortality, and a belief in the existence of God. "All beings have evidently a destiny; a general law of finality is an essential part of the order of the world." All the individuals of which the world is composed should perfect themselves by everlasting progress, and the existence of a Supreme Being, God, is necessary for assuring the means of realising particular ends, as well as for constituting and maintaining the moral order of the world.

Caro was the most uncompromising of the Spiritual school. He found immaterial elements even in matter, and rendered nature more complicated by attributing Mind to it.

At the present day France has Positivists, "Criticists," and an infinite number of Psychologists who seek their inspiration in Taine's method of mental analysis and in the recent discoveries of Biology. And in this group of men even some metaphysicians are to be found.

The best known of these philosophers is A. Fouillée, who is a good writer and an ingenious, sometimes an adventurous, thinker. His masters are Kant and Spencer, and, since he is neither a decided materialist nor spiritualist, the conciliatory attitude of his mind satisfies a great number of intellects.

Guyan deserves separate mention. This thinker, who died prematurely, left some very suggestive studies on the sociological problems of the day. He summed up in himself all the doubts, all the hopes, all the negations, and all the beliefs of our time. He foresaw very original discoveries in the moral world, as important perhaps in their way as those of Newton and Laplace in the sidereal sphere, which would reveal "attractions between sentiments and wills, solidarity among intellects, and penetrability of consciousness." The future will show if he was right

HISTORY.

History also has changed with the age, Taine the philosophical, and Renan the critical, historian succeeding to Michelet with his creating force.

Michelet could not resign himself easily to the shipwreck of his political illusions, which had been swallowed up in the storms of the Republic and the events of the *coup d'état.* He took refuge in the study of nature and composed the charmingly original works known as "L'Oiseau" (1856), "L'Insecte" (1857), "La Mer" (1861), "La Montague" (1868), besides "L'Amour" and "La Femme," in which, perhaps intoxicated by material delights, he was guilty of some disconcerting indiscretions. In the interval he terminated his "History of France" (1855–67) from Charlemagne to the French Revolution. As we already remarked with reference to his history of the Revolution, his manner had undergone a great change. Kings, priests, and nobles are henceforward objects of suspicion to him, and he attacks them with the ferocity of a Jacobin fanatic, even going so far as to attribute baseness and crime to them. He magnifies the importance of small physiological causes, such as the health of Francis I. or the fistula of Louis XIV., but in spite of all this he writes admirable pages on the Renaissance, on Luther, or the Wars of Religion and the Court of the Valois. Such is the fire of his genius and such the force of his style, that one reads what is bad as what is good in him with the same intense interest. What will never perish is all the first part of this history, the six volumes containing the narrative of the Middle Ages, with the splendid picture of France, the story of Joan of Arc, whom nobody ever understood like this savage anti-clerical, and the account of the reign of Louis XI. In these pages Michelet has indeed "resuscitated" the entire past.

Romantic history is now at an end. Tocqueville, in "L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution" (1856), renews old ties with tradition, with Montesquieu. He shows that the Revolution is not an isolated fact in the history of France, not, as certain schools have affirmed, a series of symbols without historical precedents, but is the last term of a movement which slowly for centuries had been leading to equality and centralisation. Tocqueville also wished to explain how the fragments of ancient France were used in the process of reconstruction, but he died without having carried out this great design.

Taine took up the unfinished task in his "Origines de la France Contemporaine" (1875, *et seq.*). Applying his system of scientific determinism to history, he places himself in front of his subject like a doctor in front of his patient—the metaphor is his own. He collects in regard to this sick France a number of small, significant facts, then combines them in a manner to demonstrate the following theorem: "The French Revolution is the first application of moral science to human affairs."

Moral science in 1785 was barely sketched out, and the solutions found for its problems were false; consequently they led to the catastrophe of 1789 and the imperfect reorganisation of 1800. But since then methods have changed, solutions have become true and practical, and in future all will be changed in politics. "The legitimate Queen of the future world is not that which in 1789 was called Reason, but that which in 1878 in known as Science."

This phrase is the key to Taine's work, which is a great and solid production, in spite of some partiality apparent in the judgments pronounced on the connection between certain facts. The style is picturesque and romantic, in singular contrast to the logical strictness of the author's reasoning. But the perpetual resort to a pitiless method of analysis ends by producing a painful impression on the reader, who feels himself discouraged, embittered, and saddened.

Fustel de Coulanges was yet another philosophical and learned writer. But, unlike Taine, he does not pursue a theory through infinite ramifications, or collect numberless small, suggestive facts. In his view, history should simply investigate the past by means of texts submitted to unsparing criticism and the strictest verification ("La Cité Antique," 1864; "Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France," 1875, *et seq.*). He is the least subjective of all our historians, and grasps realities without being either dry or prejudiced—only admirably simple.

Renan is an eminently philosophical historian ("Études d'Histoire Religieuse," 1857; "Origines du Christianisme," 1863, *et seq.*; "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," 1888, *et seq.*). He is a great critic of traditions, documents, and facts; assigning to them their limitations and their proper place. For him there is more certainty in the general character of a period than in particular facts to which he inclines to attribute only a symbolical value. By the magic of his style, and through his erudite archæological and exegetic equipment, he succeeds in presenting a living picture of the past. Before his time the comparative study of religions was reserved for theologians, but Renan found for it a place in history. We have already shown the importance of this revolution. Renan is an admirable writer, flexible and full of the sense of gradation. His descriptions of scenes and personages are marvellous, and his style, though eminently picturesque, is simple, and interfused with a singularly delicate artistic perceptiveness.

The marked tendency of history to follow the general organic direction of the century and become scientific, exposed it to the danger of becoming a mere abstraction. And, in fact, the historians who issued from the École des Chartes fell into an exaggeration which lasted too long, and considered that the highest form of history was to reproduce minutely verified texts, without any interpretation which might incline to diminish the strict precision of dry facts.

Fortunately, the brilliant success of naturalism in literature and the discovery of experimental physiology, joined to the progress of natural science, maintained a tendency to concrete reality and knowledge of life. On the other hand, the introduction in too large doses of determinism and philosophy into history might have distorted its true nature, but a movement of reaction against these two forms of excess has already revealed itself. Fustel de Coulanges is in reality more literary than philosophical.

In the same way M. Lavisse excels in showing human will pitted against facts ("Études sur la Prusse," 1879; "La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric," 1891); "Le Grand Frédéric avant l'Avènement" (1893). And M. Sorel, author of "L'Europe et la Révolution," 1885–92, is another writer of the same sort. His studies of history, of strong and conscientious quality, sober and yet elegant in style, accord to documentary evidence the importance which belongs to it and no more, while leaving the reader to make the reflections and draw the conclusions which naturally suggest themselves to his mind.

POLEMICS AND ORATORY.

Since journalism has become a power, newspapers have played the part formerly filled in political polemics by books and pamphlets.

Louis Veuillot, editor-in-chief of the "Univers," never ceased from 1848 onwards to attack the University, and to defend the Church and Papal Infallibility in articles full of rather coarse power and caustic penetration. He was a writer of original talent, self-formed through the study of classics; and he left some remarkable books such as "Les Libres-Penseurs" (1848), "Dialogues Socialistes" (1849), "Les Odeurs de Paris" (1862), and "Rome pendant le Concile" (1872).

Two other celebrated controversialists of the time belonged to the University, and had passed through the École Normale. One, the ironical and sarcastic Prévost Paradol, made war upon the Empire in the "Journal des Débats" and the "Courrier du Dimanche," but was reconciled to the Government on its becoming more liberal. He was the author of some subtle studies on "The French Moralists" (1865) and "Modern France." In the last-named work ("La France Nouvelle," 1868) he predicted the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, and deplored the consequences which would follow on the accession to power of the democracy with its creed of equality.

Edmond About, who wrote in "Le Figaro," "Le Moniteur," "L'Opinion Nationale," and "Le Gaulois," and founded "Le Dix-Neuvième Siècle," was a brilliant writer, full of alertness, wit, and fancy. In the beginning he was an anti-clerical Bonapartist, but rallied to Republicanism after the war of 1870. The world will always find pleasure in reading "La Grèce Contemporaine" (1855), a satire as amusing as it is unjust; and "Tolla" (1855), an interesting novel which was accused, not without some reason, of being a plagiarism.

The three men we have mentioned were the last of the great journalists. At the present day, newspapers tend more and more to become mere sources of information, and as pamphleteers our only examples of literary talent are Drumont and Rochefort.

In Parliament, under the Second Republic, some of the great orators whom we have already mentioned reappeared. At first the eloquence of Lamartine was wont to subjugate the public and sway the passions of the multitude, in whom it produced sudden changes of opinion, even rallying round the tricolour the very men who were previously brandishing the red flag. In the course of Parliamentary debates the poet showed a wide knowledge of political economy, such as could hardly have been expected from the nature of his genius. He took up the most complicated questions, and, his imagination aiding, he foresaw or predicted even the distant consequences which were likely to follow on them.

Victor Hugo displayed in the Chamber all his passion for antitheses, and unexpected comparisons, for declamation, excessive solemnity, and tragic gestures. His powerlessness to improvise a statement or to make a retort left him at the mercy of the laughter and loud remarks provoked at times by his theatrical effects and immeasurable vanity.

Political eloquence was temporarily suppressed by the Coup d'État, but it revived when the Empire became liberal and orators made furious attacks upon the Government.

Thiers, always clear and ready, was accustomed to expose the blunders and incoherence of the Empire, and as early as 1864 he prognosticated the military disasters which were to overwhelm it.

Jules Favre, whose principal qualities as an orator were amplitude and correctness, ardour and sentiment, contributed to the unpopularity of the Mexican expedition; while the impetuous Gambetta, with his tongue of fire, succeeded in levying armies and reorganised France by restoring her confidence in the future. The narrowness of party prejudice and the base envy of the majority, composed of mediocre minds, prevented his realising his full programme of reforms.

As the Republic became consolidated, general questions and struggles for principle were replaced by speeches on business, and this change in the nature of Parliamentary eloquence brought many men of talent to the front. To mention them all would make too long a list, and we can only mention Jules Simon, whose clever phrases and emotional, caressing manner touched more hearers than they convinced; Jules Ferry, whose clear, incisive, solid, and somewhat rugged speech was lightened by sudden outbursts of poetry, which he owed to his Vosgian ancestry; Léon Say, so lucid and witty that he could make even figures interesting; and, finally, the Count de Mun, that bold and ardent Catholic whose discourses were like so many cavalry charges against the policy of the Republic.

To-day, once more, questions of principle tend to give way to questions of interest. The great battle is raged round Socialism, and it is possible that this movement may lead to the rise of great orators. Socialism already has its spokesman in Jaurès, who unites to the sonorous and glowing periods of the meridional a sense of harmony, of purity and literary beauty.

In the pulpit there are no such famous preachers as formerly, although some good ones are still to be found. Père Hyacinthe is betrayed into illogical recantations by his own ardour and seductive speech, by his excessive romanticism and the success which has attended his career. Père Montsabré is enthusiastic and poetical, if somewhat inclined to over-subtle moralising; and Père Didon, the best of all, is at once earnest and intrepid, fervidly interested in social questions, and convinced of the necessity of a living and practical religion.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

In this department of thought the historical school originated by Auguste Comte found conditions more favourable to its development in Germany than in France.

The orthodox belief triumphed with us, and its exponents limited themselves chiefly to waging war against Socialists and Protectionists. To the spirit of controversy thus resulting we may perhaps attribute the want of any great work.

We may mention "Les Ouvriers Européens" (1856) of Le Play, which is a remarkable description of working-class family life; the "Réforme-Sociale" (1864) of the same author, an attempt at founding Christian Socialism; "L'Ouvrière" (1861), by Jules Simon, a moral and literary, rather than economical, work, in great request among Socialists, as it furnishes numberless statistical facts and is instinct with pity for the poor; "Un Traité d'Economie Politique," published in 1860 by Courcelle Seneuil, who endeavours to separate his subject from its practical applications and place it on a more purely scientific basis; finally the various works of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu ("Essai sur la Répartition des Richesses," 1880; "Traité de la Science des Finances," 1877; "L'État Moderne," 1889); "L'Histoire des Classes Ouvrières," by Levasseur (1867); and "Les Solutions Démocratiques de la question des Impôts," by Léon Say, which was issued in 1886.

ART.

Art in France has followed precisely the same lines as Literature, only remaining longer under the influence of Romanticism. This was followed first by Realism, then by all the exaggerations of the Impressionist school, which, by a natural reaction, resulted in a return to Mysticism.

PAINTING.

Some of the masters who were known before 1848 still fill the scene, among others Ingres, who in his green old age produced that dream of plastic beauty "La Source"; and Horace Vernet, who painted the Battle of Alma for Napoleon III.

Historical pictures continued to improve. Artists no longer consulted chronicles of the past, but recorded the events of the Crimean, Italian, and Franco-Prussian campaigns in some fine paintings, such as Barrias' "Disembarkation of the Troops in the Crimea" (1859), "Storming of Malakoff" (1859), and "Charge of the Cuirassiers at Reichshoffen" (1871); Yvon's "Battle of Inkermann" (1857); Protais' "Capitulation of Metz" (1870), and the various spirited and correct battle-pieces of Detaille ("Retreat," 1873; "The Dream," 1888; "A Battery," 1890) and of de Neuville ("The Last Cartouches," 1873).

Antiquity still claims many votaries. Boulanger

("The Crossing of the Rubicon," 1857), Tony Robert Fleury ("The Last Days of Corinth," 1870), Gérome ("Ave César" 1859; "King Candaules," "Phryne," 1863; "Cleopatra and César," 1874), Cabanel ("The Birth of Venus," 1863), and Bouguereau ("The Triumph of Venus," 1856), handed on the classical tradition of Ingres.

Meissonier deserves separate mention. His talent lies in microscopic *genre* pictures executed throughout with minute and almost excessive care. "The Reader" (1841), "A Game at Bowls" (1849), "The Smoker" (1850), "The Quarrel" (1855), "Eighteen Hundred and Seventeen" (1890), form a series of small masterpieces which met with a prodigious if not entirely unambiguous success, and were sold for enormous prices.

Landscape is, however, the style of painting which under the influence of Romanticism has progressed the most. A school which made its headquarters in the forest of Fontainebleau went simply and directly to Nature for its inspiration. Théodore Rousseau has drunk deep of the poetry of woods, and reproduces their beauty in his canvases, which are remarkable for their strong, delightful colour, their breadth of touch, and their solid brush-work, as instanced by "After Rain" (1852), "Oak Trees at Apremont" (1855), "An Avenue" (1855).

Millet, the friend of Rousseau, regarded landscape as only a fitting background for his labourers and shepherds, true men of the fields, whose existence and whose character he studied day by day till he transferred them to the well-known pictures, so surely executed and full of quiet tone, "The Angelus" (1867) and "The Knitting Lesson" (1868).

Corot returned to classic sources and fell in love with nymphs, and dryads, and naiads ("Dance of Nymphs," 1849). He is particularly successful with small canvases, such as "A Morning at Ville-d'Avray," a canvas instinct with the poetry of dawn and sunset, and painted with a delicacy which appeals to the cultured rather than to the crowd.

Troyon is more particularly an animal-painter. There is power in his "Labouring Oxen" (1853), "Touque-Valley" (1853), and "Return to the Farm" (1859).

Diaz, a brilliant yet harmonious colourist loves evening landscapes, shadowy underwoods, and sunlit glades. Examples are: "Lower Bréau" (1844), "Forest Depths" (1846), "The Viper-Pool" (1859), "The End of a Sunny Day" (1855).

Daubigny displays a natural and rustic talent in "The Harvest" (1852), "Moonrise" (1859), "An Evening at Andrésy" (1867), and so on.

To Rosa Bonheur we owe remarkable pictures of animals, ploughed lands, and wastes, among which we may mention her "Nivernais Oxen" (1849).

With Flandrin the painter, "Harvest-time" (1869), "A Reminiscence of Lower Bréau" (1875), and "Shade" (1885), Romanticism began to decline; and Courbet, a native of Franche-Comté, who had trained himself unaided by observation of nature, gave the first impulse to a reaction in favour of Realism. Himself a rough peasant, he flaunted his contempt for the Classicists, the Romanticists, and even for those who, in imitation of him, called themselves Realists, and asserted that Art consists above all in exaggerating and magnifying, and that to produce a masterpiece one has only to observe well.

" I do not know if I am a Realist, as has been said repeatedly. All I know is that I mean to paint my impressions of the world which I see. I do not wish to be only a painter; I wish also to be a man—a living man." This declaration produced a paroxysm of rage in all the schools.

Courbet's Franche-Comté peasants, coarse, prosaic, deliberately brutal in appearance, clothed in rags and wearing muddy or broken boots, his peasant-women, with bare, dirty feet; his ultra-naturalistic female bathers, were described as revolutionary (*vide* " An Afternoon at Ornans," 1849; a "Burial at Ornans," 1850; "Women Bathing," 1853; "Rustic Lovers," "Stag-Hunt," 1857; "Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine," 1857; "Stone-Breakers," 1850; "The Return from a Conference of Parish Priests," 1863).

The strong and striking talent of Courbet exercised an immense sway. He recalled the established schools to the paths of truth and sincerity, and dealt a deathblow to the prejudice which had hitherto prevailed against reproducing on canvas the realities of modern life, the types and customs of the day.

Henri Regnault, who fell, while quite young, at the battle of Buzenval, might perhaps have formed a school side by side with that which was inspired by the bold example of Courbet. Regnault's colouring was extraordinary—"The palette," wrote Gautier, "belonged to him." He laid upon it colours unknown before his time, and obtained effects which one would have thought impossible, but for seeing them produced with so prodigious a facility. Regnault's "Portrait du Maréchal Prim" and "Salomé" are well known.

Edouard Manet, outstripping Courbet, was the creator of Impressionism, which starts from the principle that reality strikes us not through its form but its colour. This theory abolishes draughtsmanship—all that is necessary is to make or prick dots upon the canvas. Manet, truly admirable as a colourist, succeeded in reproducing the most subtle effects of light and found differences even in the colour of shadows, but his figures are very carelessly executed ("The Absinthe Drinker," 1860; "A Breakfast on the Grass," 1863; "A Woman with a Sunshade," 1868; "A Good 'Bock,'" 1873).

Bastien-Lepage painted remarkably true rustic scenes, as in "Les Paysans," and admirable portraits. Almost all the younger painters have felt the influence of Manet and Bastien-Lepage, as may be seen by Conserre's portraits of actresses, true colour-symphonies; Feyen-Perrin's luminous "Fisher-women"; Henner's effects of chiaroscuro in "A Woman Recumbent" (1869), "Mary Magdalen in the Desert" (1874), "Eclogues" (1879), "A Woman Reading" (1883), and "Melancholy" (1890); Roll's open-air scenes, so full of life and movement ("Feasts of Silenus," 1879, and "The Strike of the Miners," 1880).

Excess of colouring, however, and scenes of brutality naturally provoked a reaction in favour of reveries and mystical aspirations, and Puvis de Chavannes in his decorative mural paintings, with their delicate pale colouring and purity of designs, has attained a delightful effect of simplicity, naïveté, and freshness ; as, for instance, in his "Saint Geneviève," in the Pantheon (1876, *et seq.*), "Pro Patriâ Ludus" (1880), and "The Sacred Wood" (1884).

Gustave Moreau in "Œdipus and the Sphinx" (1864), "The Young Man and Death" (1865), "Orpheus torn by Mænads" (1866), "The Sphinx's Riddle Solved" (1878), and "Helen" (1880), has sought in brilliantly executed pictures to give expression to lofty philosophical and literary ideas.

BLACK AND WHITE.

After 1852 Gavarni's satire became almost savage, the text of his drawings being to the last degree caustic, as in "Children who Bite" and "Parisian Physiognomies."

The great designer of the age was Gustave Doré, a marvellous artist, who would have been a genius had he known how to restrain his impulse to production, and who excelled in painting and sculpture. He was full of imagination, of fancy, and vigour, and was endowed to the highest degree with the sense of dramatic effect.

The masterpieces which may be cited as examples of his versatility are the illustrations to Rabelais (1854), to "Les Contes Drolatiques" of Balzac (1856), to "Don Quixote" (1862), and to Dante's "Divine Comedy" (1861–68).

Bida, who was a distinguished Orientalist, succeeded better in drawing than in painting. Being endowed with a sense of values and good powers of observation, he rendered scenes, attitudes, and costumes with great precision and verisimilitude. His "Gospels" (1873), illustrated with the true Oriental landscape, architecture, and costume, were a revelation.

Caran d'Ache, who is careful, strong, and original, has created a remarkable form of cartoon without texts. The politics of the day have suggested some amusing compositions to him, but his talent in this line is somewhat monotonous, and lacking in the depth of thought and satirical keenness of his predecessors. On the other hand, his magic-lantern slides for the "Chat Noir," such as "The Temptation of St. Anthony" and others, produced an extraordinarily clever impression of life and mass and perspective.

Forain follows more closely the traditions of Daumier and Gavarni. As a moralist he is bitter and cynical. His texts are true and pungent, and his satire plays round the habits and types of the day, political events and personages, middle-class men and women, *demi-mondaines*, actresses, Stock Exchange speculators, and fast men. He is one of the social forces of the hour.

SCULPTURE.

French sculptors, whether romanticists or realists, show a knowledge of drawing and anatomy, and a power of execution, which have won for them a reputation throughout Europe.

Long after 1848, Clésinger continued to produce works as full of merit and as unequal as of yore, and in 1856 executed a colossal equestrian statue of Francis I., which is a crowning example of his talent and its defects.

Barye allowed himself to be discouraged by the ill-will and the barely concealed jealousy excited by his superb studies of animals. He devoted himself to the commercial side of art by executing small bronzes, candelabras, tazzas, and candlesticks of an original character. In 1851, however, he completed a serious work of art in his "Jaguar Devouring a Lion," and formed some good disciples in Cain, who produced "A Young Fawn Chasing Rabbits" (1859), "A Lion of Sahara" (1865), and in Fremiet, a sculptor of profound anatomical knowledge, among whose more remarkable works are "A Wounded Hound" (1850), "A Man of the Stone Age" (1872), "A Bear and a Man of the Stone Age" (1885).

Carpeaux follows Rude in his love of violent movement. He reached his highest point in the "Neapolitan Fisher-Boy" executed in 1858, a work full of expression and animation; but fell into some exaggeration in his famous "Dance" (1869), which has been described as "a whirling group of mad Bacchantes." Perfect examples of his talent are the bas-reliefs of the "Pavilion of Flora," where the young and gracious goddess is represented surrounded by frolicsome children; the central group of the Observatory Fountain, entitled the "Four Quarters of the Globe"; and finally the busts—so living and real—of the Princess Mathilde (1863), the

Duchess de Mouchy (1868), and Alexandre Dumas fils (1874).

Carrier-Belleuse did graceful and delicate work in his "Angelica" (1866) and his "Sleeping Phœbe" (1869). His terra-cotta busts of young girls, soubrettes, coquettes, and arch *Parisiennes* are expressive, but rather finikin.

Gauk disdained to follow the fashion of the moment, and kept to the purity and correctness of the lines of great art in his "Bacchante and Satyr" (1859), "Faun" (1861), "Victory" (1864), "Twilight" (1870), "Youth and Love" (1884), and "Admiral Coligny."

Guillaume tempered classical traditions with the spirit of a rare critic ("The Guests of Anacreon," 1853; "A Roman Marriage," 1877; "Orpheus" 1878.)

Antonin Mercié was happily inspired by patriotism in his "Gloria Victis" (1874), "Even So" (*Quand Même*, 1882), and "William Tell" (1892).

Barrias, in addition to many historical busts and statues, produced some fine monuments. We may mention "The Defence of Paris" (1881), "The Defence of St. Quentin" (1882), "The Child Mozart" (1883), "The Oath of Spartacus" (1877), "Fortune and Love" (1872), "The First Funeral" (1878).

Dalou, somewhat rough but extremely expressive, is best seen in his "Triumph of Silenus" (1885), "Mirabeau Replying to Dreux-Brézé" (an alto-relief, 1883), and the monument to Eugène Delacroix in the Luxembourg (1890).

Falguière in his "Ophelia" (1869), "Egyptian

Dancer" (1873), "Woman with a Peacock" (1890), and "Diana" (1890), sought to avoid mere prettiness and to find in a conscientious study of nature some eternal type of beauty.

Dubois is something of a mystic, as proved by his "Narcissus at the Fountain" (1863), "A Florentine Singer" (1865), "The Virgin and Child" (1867), "The Birth of Eve" (1873).

ARCHITECTURE.

In architecture there are doubtless some remarkable monuments from a technical point of view, but no novelty: only successful imitations of the past.

One may mention Visconti's completion of the Louvre (1853) carried on in the three following years by Lefnel, the new Hôtel de Ville by Ballu (1873), and Viollet le Duc's masterly restoration of the Castle of Pierrefonds. Davoud rebuilt the theatre in the Place du Châtelet, and the Trocadero Palace; Abadie constructed the fortress of the Sacred Heart; and Charles Garnier made an effort at originality in the Opera House (1861–75)—a building of which the details are interesting but the *ensemble* is disappointing.

MUSIC.

Meyerbeer terminated his magnificent career by "Le Prophète" (1849), "L'Africaine" (1865), and "Le Pardon de Ploermel" (1859)—in which works he showed himself by turns tempestuous and gentle, melancholy and exuberant.

Berlioz, destined to be always misunderstood, appeals to the most mystical side of Christianity in "L'Enfance du Christ" (1854); and showed himself tender, graceful, and pleasing in "Beatrice et Bénédict" (1862), and full of poetry and melody in "La Prise de Troie" (1863) and "Les Troyens à Carthage" (1863).

Félicien David succeeded better with the theatre-going public than Berlioz, because of his greater clearness. His "Perle du Brésil" (1851) and "Herculaneum" (1859) are expressive and picturesque; while "Lalla Rookh" (1862) is a masterpiece of Oriental languour and sensuous poetry.

After these masters music became more and more objective, in obedience to the tendency which we have found everywhere, in literature, philosophy, and art. It endeavoured to give the impression of some definite sentiment or passion, and consequently the symphony assumed immense importance.

Gounod, with his large, rich, varied style, drew inspiration from the antique for his "Sappho" which appeared in 1850. "Faust" (1859) and "Romeo and Juliet" (1867) are full of poetical charm, and "Mireille" (1862) is finely finished.

Ambroise Thomas, in style supple and graceful, gentle and dreamy, but always correct in method, published "Le Caïd" in 1849, and followed that up with his masterpieces, "Un Songe d'une Nuit d'Eté" (1850), "Mignon" (1866), and "Hamlet" (1868), all remarkable for melody, rhythm, and delicate harmony.

Bizet, who died too young, left works of an extraordinary richness of colouring, as in "La Pêcheuse de Perles" (1863), and of great melodiousness, as in

"L'Arlésienne" (1872) and the dazzling "Carmen" (1875).

Victor Massé showed himself original in "Galatée" (1852), and more imitative in "Les Noces de Jeannette" (1853).

Reyer boldly followed the lead of Berlioz in "La Statue" (1861), "Sigurd" (1886), and the ballad of "Sacountala" (1858).

. Massenet, whose talent was elegant and charming yet restrained, wrote "Le Roi de Lahore" (1879), "Hérodiade" (1884), "Manon Lescaut" (1884), and expressed in "Marie Magdeleine" (1893) the purest sentiments of the Christian religion.

Saint-Saens showed himself austere, yet bold and dramatic, in "Etienne Marcel" (1879) and "Henri VIII." (1883), and sought to give a pictorial value to music in "Le Rouet d'Omphale," "Le Déluge," and "La Danse Macabre."

A special style, the operetta, was born under the Second Empire, at a time when the pursuit of pleasure and the satisfaction of material wants were the great preoccupations of society.

Offenbach, although a German, was the creator of a novelty which seemed entirely Parisian. The librettos written by Meilhac and Halévy were highly humoristic, coarse, and witty at one and the same time, and showed a scanty respect for the most venerable traditions. "Orphée aux Enfers" (1861), "La Belle Hélène" (1865), "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein" were the offspring of an eccentric muse, somewhat dishevelled and short-kilted, who later assumed a rather soberer garb in the hands of

Lecocq ("La Fille de Madame Angot," 1872) and Hervé ("Le Petit Faust," 1869; "La Femme à Papa," 1879).

The operetta gained favour rapidly with the public, and now tends to supplant the comic opera.

SCIENCE.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Science has acquired such importance and developed along so many lines, that its disciples have been forced to limit themselves entirely to their respective branches. The universal, encyclopædical man of learning has disappeared and been succeeded by the specialist, who devotes his intellect, his genius, and his life to studies of a strictly limited description.

Thanks to this division of labour, this concentration of intellectual effort, magnificent discoveries have been made in every department of human knowledge.

MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY.

Mathematicians have devoted almost all their attention to the lofty abstractions of analysis. Hermite studied the theory of numbers, as well as of elliptic and abelian functions, and published treatises on these subjects. Poincaré turned his attention to differential functions, and applied infinitesimal methods to the theory of numbers and to celestial mechanism. One of his treatises made a sensation in the learned world. It was a study of the problem of the Three Bodies and the Equations of Dynamics (1889).

Foucault, in 1851, invented the gyroscope for observing the oscillations of the pendulum. He established on a firmer scientific basis than ever the truth of the earth's rotation; and in collaboration with M. Fizeau calculated anew the distance of the moon from the sun, by means of the velocity of light.

Janssen studied the telluric rays of the solar spectrum, and by his observations on eclipses established the existence of a new solar corona. In 1891 he ascended Mont Blanc with the purpose of setting up an observatory, which is now in full working order.

Cornu measured the velocity of light; determined the mean density of the earth, and carried through various experiments in spectral analysis serving as a basis for conjecture on the composition of stars.

Faye, who had discovered a comet in 1843, demonstrated that these bodies are attracted or repelled by the sun, and that this double phenomenon is present in the relations between all celestial bodies. He studied solar cyclones (1873), meteorological problems, and formulated some very curious hypotheses, much controverted since, on the origin of the world (1884).

Tisserand (1888–90) published a masterly treatise on celestial mechanics.

PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

Cailletet liquified gases hitherto considered permanent (such as oxygen and hydrogen) by submitting them to enormous pressure in an apparatus of his own invention (1877).

Becquerel made interesting investigations on the solar spectrum and electric light, and on the refrigerating capacity of liquid bodies. In 1873 he published a remarkable memoir on the intervention of physico-chemical forces in the production of natural phenomena.

Marcel Deprez utilised electricity as a motor force, and by its means succeeded in transporting to a great distance the power generated by a waterfall, a steam-engine, &c. (1881–85).

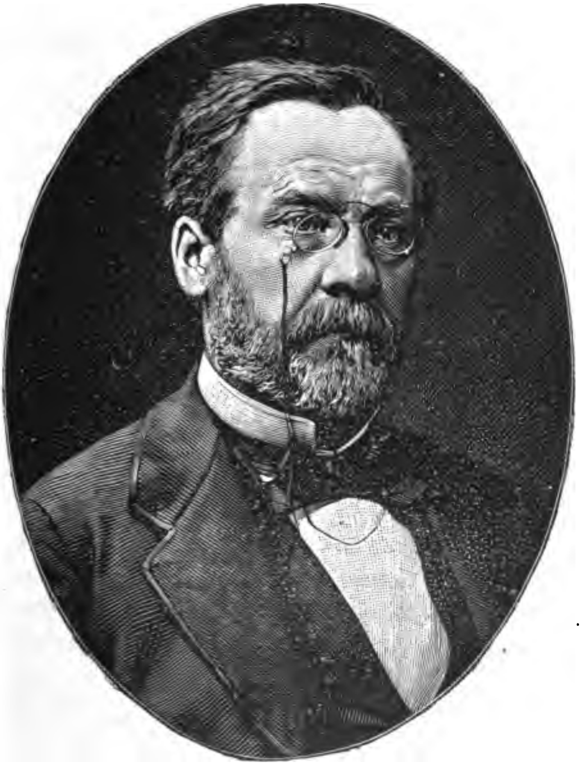
Lippmann studied the relations existing between electrical and capillary phenomena (1875), invented the capillary electrometer, published important works on magnetism, electricity, and thermodynamics, besides discovering a mode of reproducing colours by photography.

The singularly analytical and critical character of the age is proved by the surprising progress made in chemistry.

J. B. Dumas laid the foundations of a new classification of metals and metalloids ; formulated a fruitful theory of alcohols, and discovered the law of substitution, one of the fundamental principles of organic chemistry.

Wurtz was the apostle in France of the atomic theory, which he explained in a lucid manner. He left many important works, such as "A Treatise on Medical Chemistry" (1864–65) and "A Dictionary of Pure and Applied Chemistry" (1868 *et seq.*).

Henri Sainte-Claire Deville invented some simple processes for the industrial production of aluminium (1854), and was the discoverer of the law of disintegration acting upon atoms.



PASTEUR.

Moissan, after some beautiful experiments on the properties of cyanogene in its various combinations, succeeded in isolating fluorine (1886–89).

Pasteur discovered the causes and formulated the theory of vinous, alcoholic, and acetic fermentations, and exhaustively studied the nature of tartaric acids and moulds. His investigations, so important from an industrial point of view, finally led to his great discovery of the causes of infectious maladies, to be described further on.

Berthelot, the greatest chemist of the age, established the true part played by synthesis in the creation of new beings, methodically constructed in harmony with the same general laws as those governing natural bodies of which analysis has revealed the composition. By this new conception of synthesis and the application of its principles, organic chemistry was placed upon its present basis, with definite compartments and an unlimited series of combinations.

Until the time of Berthelot, organic chemistry isolated the immediate principles contained in living things, and imposed on them a series of decompositions and transformations intended to result in a reduction to elements. But Berthelot, by his experiments with heat and electricity, was able to build up all the fundamental organic compounds which contribute to the formation of bodies. ("Synthèse des Corps gras Naturels," 1854; "Synthèse de l'Alcool Ordinaire," 1854, &c.).

His investigations into affinities (1856–62) cleared the path for a multitude of observations leading to important discoveries in chemical mechanics. Pursuing his study of the formation of organic principles by vegetables, he succeeded in discovering that electricity at a low tension fixes free azote upon organic matters, while microbes do the same thing for vegetable soil.

Finally, he was one of the founders of Thermo-Chemistry and Chemical Mechanics. His works, written in a beautiful style and inspired by a philosophic spirit, prove that all chemical phenomena are finally due to the action and reaction of the final particles of bodies, atoms or molecules, and to the forces generated by this movement. The amount of energy involved may be measured by the heat set free or absorbed in the moment of transformation, and which has itself a mechanical equivalent. Hence the chemical action is found to be reducible to the same definition, the same unity as all natural forces, and chemistry ceasing to be a merely descriptive science, becomes classed with the other branches of physics and rational sciences.

NATURAL SCIENCE.

Mines and mineralogy formed the subject of important investigations by M. Daubrée, who discovered the formation of veins of tin and, contemporaneously of veins of iron in lakes and marshes. He also demonstrated the presence of arsenic in combustible minerals, in volcanic rocks, and in sea-water. He studied the chemical composition of planetary bodies, and introduced experimental synthesis into geology.

De Cloizeaux, the eminent mineralogist, studied crystallography and the optical properties of minerals, with interesting results.

Lacaze-Duthiers has devoted himself to the study of zoophytes, and revealed their life history and organisation under a new point of view. He published, among other works, a "Natural History of Corals" (1863), and advanced the cause of science by establishing zoological laboratories on the coast (1873). "The World of the Sea and its Laboratories" (1889) is the title of another of his volumes.

Blanchard published some remarkable observations on worms and insects. The best known of his works is one on Insects, their Metamorphoses, Habits and Instincts (1867).

Flourens showed that animals have not only instinct but also intelligence which, however, although incontestable, cannot reach the degree of a reasoning faculty.

De Quatrefages, after devoting himself for a long time to the study of annelids, turned his attention to anthropology, and was led to dispute the conclusions of Darwin. His principal works are "Physiologie Comparée" (1862), "Polynésiens" (1866), "L'Espèce Humaine" (1877), "Histoire Générale des Races Humaines" (1886–89).

Milne Edwards demonstrated the principle of the physiological division of labour, and showed that the degree of division should be the criterion for judging the stage of perfection reached by each species and its rank in the scale of creation. He also rejected the doctrine of evolution and transformation. His chief works treated of crustaceans, corals, and polypi. Two very remarkable books are those respectively entitled "Recherches pour Servir à l'Histoire des Mammifères" (1866–74) and "Leçons sur la Physiologie et l'Anatomie Comparée de l'Homme et des Animaux" (1855–84).

In botany Chatin was the creator of the comparative anatomy of vegetables, of which the immediate aim is to classify vegetables by the anatomical characters corresponding to their morphology (1854–66). Chatin's researches into iodine (1850–60) demonstrated the existence of this body in streams and rivers, in the soil, in plants, animals, and the atmosphere, instead of, as formerly supposed, only in the sea.

MEDICAL SCIENCE.

Anatomy has remained stationary; but the ever-growing use of the microscope has led to various histiological discoveries. Ramier and Cornil published an excellent manual on Pathological Histiology (1869).

Physiology, thanks to the application of the experimental method, has become a true science.

Vulpian's learned study of the physiology of the brain (1867), and Brown-Sequard's researches into the physiology of the spinal marrow led the way to new discoveries.

The most mysterious functions of life revealed themselves to Claude-Bernard. For him medicine, equally with physics and chemistry, must be based not upon observation alone but also upon experiment. We can only have cognisance of the relations exhibited by phenomena, consequently the words life, death, health, disease "are purely literary expressions which we use because they represent to our minds the appearance of certain phenomena, but which do not stand for any objective reality." Phenomena are represented by physico-chemical facts.

The object of experimental physiology is consequently to determine the preliminary physico-chemical conditions indispensable to the manifestations of life. These conditions can be learnt by directly experimenting on living animals. Once known, their manifestations can be foreseen and mastered. Claude-Bernard gave to his method the title of "Principle of Universal Determinism." We have seen what a powerful influence it had over contemporary philosophers and writers. It created physiology and completely transformed medicine.

The special discoveries made by Claude-Bernard are innumerable. We may instance his investigations into gastric juice, the pancreas, the glycogenic properties of the liver, the spinal nerve, the great sympathetic, the vaso-motor system of nerves, local circulation, and the nervous system generally. He laid the foundation of a science of toxicology (as in his famous experiments with Curare), and broke down the old barriers between animal and vegetable functions. Claude-Bernard had also begun to study fermentation, but his experminents were resumed by Pasteur, who recognised the presence and influence of living beings—bacilli, bacteria, and microbes. This discovery raised an animated debate between the partisans of spontaneous generation and those of cellular generation. Pasteur demonstrated that all animalcules are derived from pre-existent germs, and he went on to prove that they are the cause of alteration in wine, beer, &c.

These discoveries led him to make investigations into infectious maladies, and he found a microbe to be the cause of anthrax in sheep and oxen. By cultivating the virus he succeeded in attenuating its force progressively, until he obtained a principle which by vaccination ensured immunity from the disease (1881).

Pasteur followed up these conclusive experiments with others on cholera among fowls (1880), and rabies (1881), and the discoveries he made revolutionised medicine and surgery. Antiseptic treatment and dressings were adopted which prevented the contamination of wounds by infectious germs. Pasteur's pupils, Chamberland, Roux, and others, by continuing his system, brought down the death rate from the most terrible maladies such as diphtheria and phthisis.

Mental maladies and disturbances of the nervous system have also been the subject of curious investigations. Moreau, of Tours, had already shown that madness is a lesion of the faculty of attention, that genius is a form of nevrosis, and that lofty conceptions arise from the same source as mental alienation and instinct.

Charcot, by a series of brilliant experiments on the subjects of such nervous maladies as hysteria, hypnotism, somnambulism, &c., furnished materials for a scientific explanation of phenomena which had long been considered supernatural.

Marey brought a mathematical precision to the study of the phenomena of life. With the aid of ingeniously contrived instruments he was able to illustrate graphologically the pulsations of the heart and the movements of the respiratory system, while photography enabled him to obtain examples of each component of movement in men and animals and in the flight of birds ("Physiology of Movement," 1889).

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LITERATURE.

I. 1789–1815.

Theatre.

Beaumarchais.
Mère Coupable (1797); Le Barbier de Seville (1775); Le Mariage de Figaro (1784).

Jos. Chénier.
Calas (1791); Caius Gracchus (1793).

Alex. Duval.
Various Comedies of Manners (1791 *et seq.*).

Laya.
Ami des Lois (1793).

Pixérécourt.

Andrieux.
Meunier de Sans Souci (1797); La Comédienne (1816)

Poetry.

Delille.
Jardins (1782).

Jos. Chénier.
Satires; Épîtres.

André Chénier.
See following period (1819).

Millevoye.

Ecouchard Lebrun
Chansons.

Desaugiers.

Béranger.
(Commencement.)

Fiction.

B. de St. Pierre.
Paul and Virginia (1787); Indian Hut (1790).

Pigault Lebrun.
Enf. du Carnaval (1792).

X. de Maistre.
Voyage autour de ma chambre (1794); Lépreux (1801).

Chateaubriand.
Renè (1802); Martyrs (1809).

Women Authors.

Mme. de Staël.
Delphine (1802); Corinne (1807).

Cottin.

De Krudener.

De Souza.

De Rémusat.

De Duras.

Criticism.

La Harpe.
Cours de Litt. (1799–1805.

Mme. de Staël.
De la Littérature (1800).

Ginguené.
Hist. Littér. d'Italie (1811–19).

Jos. Chénier.
Tableau de la Littér. (1815).

Geoffroy.
Débats (1800–1816)

MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE.

LITERATURE.

I. 1789–1815.

Polemics and Eloquence.

Rivarol.

Sièyes.
Tiers Étât (1789).

Mme. de Staël.

Chateaubriand.
Genie du Christian. (1804).

Mirabeau.

Danton.

Marat.

Robespierre.

St.-Just.

Vergniaud.

C. Desmoulins.

Cl. Maury.

Napoléon.

Philosophy.

B. de St. Pierre.
Étât de la Nature (1784–1801).

Volney.
Ruines (1791); Loi Naturelle (1793).

De Gèrando.
Des Signes (1800).

Maine de Biran.
Infl. de St. Habitude (1803).

Destutt de Tracy.
Idéologie (1801); Logique (1805).

Royer-Collard.
Cours (1811).

History.

Bonald.
Théorie du Pou. Pol. (1796); Légist-primitive (1802).

Jos. de Maistre.
Consid. sur France (1796).

Anquetil.
Hist. Universelle (1797).

Marmontel.

Jomini.

Lacretelle.

Daunou.

Michaud.

Mme. de Staël.

Silv. de Sacy.

Larcher.

Political Economy.

Babœuf.
Tribun. (1794–97).

Garnier.
Propriété (1792); Econ. Pol. (1796).

Roederer.
Mem. d' Econ. Pol. (1796–99).

J. B. Say.
Econ. Pol. (1803); Catéchisme (1815).

Fourrier.
Théorie des Quatre Mouvements (1808).

St. Simon.
Reorg. de la Société (1814).

LITERATURE.

II. 1815–1848.

Theatre.

Cas. Delavigne.
École des Vieillards (1823); Louis XI. (1832); Enfants d'Edouard (1833).

Victor Hugo.
Preface to Cromwell (1827); Hernani (1830).

Ducange.
Trente Ans, ou La Vie d'un Joueur (1827).

Alexandre Dumas.
Tour de Nesles (1832).

Eugène Sue.
The Vaudeville.

Poetry.

Lamartine.
Méditations(1820); Harmonies (1830–33).

Victor Hugo.
Orientales (1829); Feuilles d'Automne voix Intérieures.

A. de Vigny.
Poèmes (1826–29).

A. de Musset.
Poésies (1820–36).

Aug. Barbier.
Iambes (1830).

Brizeux.
Marie (1836).

Laprade.
Odes (1843).

Th. Gautier.
Poésies (1845); Chanson.

Béranger.
Songs (1815–33).

Fiction.

Benj. Constant.
Adolphe (1816).

Chateaubriand.
Abencérages(1826)
Natchez (1828).

A. de Vigny.
Cinq Mars (1826).

Stendhal.
Rouge et Noir (1830); Chartreuse de Parme (1839).

Victor Hugo.
Nôtre-Dame de Paris (1831).

Balzac.
Peau de Chagrin (1831); Comédie Humaine.

G. Sand.
Indiana (1832); Mare au Diable (1846); Fadette (1848).

Musset.
Confessions (1836).

Alex. Dumas.
Trois Mousquetaires(1844); Monte Cristo (1845).

Eugène Sue.

Paul de Kock.

Criticism.

Geoffroy.
Cours de Litt. (1815–20).

St. Marc Girardin

Villemain.

Sainte-Beuve.

MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE.

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II. 1815–1848.

Polemics and Eloquence.

J, de Maistre.
Pape (1819); Soirées de St. Petersburg (1821).

Lemennais.
Indifference (1817)

Lacordaire.
Conférences à Nôtre Dame (1835).

Montalembert.
St. Elizabeth (1836).

De Ravignan.
Conférences de Nôtre Dame (1837).

P. L. Courier.
Pamphlets (1832–38).

A. Carrel.
Le National (1836).

E. de Girardin.
La Presse (1836.)

Berryer.

Guizot.

B. Constant.

Thiers.

Royer-Collard.

Ledru-Rollin.

Manuel.

Cas. Périer.

Philosophy.

Maine de Biran.
Rapport du Phys. et du Moral (1834).

Electicism.

Victor Cousin.
Du Vrai, Du Beau, Du Bien (1815–20); Études sur Pascal (1842).

Aug. Comte.
Cours de Philosoph. Positive (1839, 1842).

Law.

Dupin.
Lib. de l'Église Gall. (1824).

Dalloz.
Jurisprudence (1824).

Rossi.
Droit Pénal (1829).

History.

Thiers.
Hist. de la Révol., Consulat, et Empire (1846–69).

Guizot.
Révol. d'Angleterre (1827–28); Civilisation.

Michelet.
Hist. de France.

Tocqueville.
Democratie en Amérique.

Aug. Thierry.
Merovingiens,

Louis Blanc.
Hist. de Dix Ans (1841–44); La Révolution (1846–62).

Daunou.
Études Hist. (1844–49).

V. Duruy.
Hist. des Romaines.

H. Martin.
Hist. de France (1833 *et seq.*).

Boissonnade.

D. Nisard.

V. Leclerc.

Champollion.

Letronne.

Burnouf.

Botta.

Political Economy.

Fourier.
Harmonie Universelle (1849).

St. Simon.
Industrie (1817–18; Nouveau Christ (1825)

Cabet.
Credo-Comm. (1841); Voyage en Icarie; Le Vrai Christ (1846–47).

Leroux.
De l'Humanité (1840); Plutocratie (1848); Du Chrétien (1848).

Proud'hon.
Propriété (1840–41); Contrad. Econ. (1846–49).

Bastiat.
Sophismes Econ. (1846–51); Harmonies Econ.

Louis Blanc.
Catéch. du Socialisme (1849).

J. Garnier.
Traité d'Econ. Pol. (1845).

LITERATURE.

III. 1848–1895.

Theatre.

PONSARD.
Charlotte Corday (1850).

MUSSET.
Il ne faut jurer de rien (1848).

SCRIBE.
Adrienne Lecouvreur (1849).

G. SAND.
François le Champi (1850); Marquis de Villemer (1864).

EM. AUGIER.
L'Aventurière (1848); Le Gendre de M. Poirier (1854); Les Fourchambault (1878).

DUMAS fils.
La Dame aux Camélias (1852); Le Demi Monde (1855); Le Parnasse (1865–66); L'Étrangère (1870)

LABICHE.
Le Chapeau de Paille d'Italie (1850).

SARDOU.
Nos intimes (1861); Daniel Rochat (1880).

BROS. GONCOURT.
Henriette Maréchal.

D'ENNERY.

PAILLERON.
Le Monde où l'on s'énnuie.

COPPÉE.

DAUDET.
Sapho (1886).

OHNET.
Le Maître des Forges.

J. LEMAÎTRE.

Poetry.

TH. GAUTIER.
Emaux et Camées (1852).

VICTOR HUGO.
Les Châtiments (1853); Contemplations (1856); Legendes des Siècles (1859).

BAUDELAIRE.
Fleurs du Mal (1857).

BANVILLE.
Odes Funambulesques (1857).

LECONTE DE LISLE.
Poèmes Antiques (1852); Poèmes Barbares (1862); Poèmes Tragiques (1884).

F. COPPÉE.
Reliquaires (1866).

SULLY PRUDHOMME.
Justice (1878); Bonheur (1888).

RICHEPIN.
Chanson des Gueux (1876).

DE HÉRÈDIA.
Trophées (1893).

VERLAINE.
Parallèlement (1889).

Songs.

PIERRE DUPONT.

G. NADAUD.

J. JOUY.

XANROF.

Fiction.

MERIMÉE.
Nouvelles (1852–55)

VICTOR HUGO.
Misérables (1862).

TH. GAUTIER.
Capitaine Fracasse (1863).

G. SAND.
M. de Villemer (1861).

O. FEUILLET.
M. de Camors (1867).

A. DUMAS fils.
Dame aux Camélias (1848).

ABOUT.
Tolla (1855).

BARBEY D'AUREVILLY.

FLAUBERT.
Madame Bovary (1857).

BROS. GONCOURT.
Renée Mauperin (1864).

H. MONNIER.
Jos. Prudhomme (1857).

ZOLA.
Les Rougon-Macquart (1871–93).

A. DAUDET.
Fromont Jeune (1874); Sapho (1884).

ERCKMANN-CHATRIAN.
Romans Nationaux (1865).

CHERBULIEZ.
Meta Holdenis (1873).

THEURIET.
Mme. Heurteloup (1882).

G. OHNET.
Batailles de la Vie (1881–83).

G. DE MAUPASSANT.
Une Vie (1883).

P. LOTI.
BOURGET.
ANATOLE FRANCE.
HERVIEU.
ROSNY.
M. PREVOST.

Criticism.

SAINTE-BEUVE.
Lundis (1850–69).

TAINE.
La Fontaine (1853). Litt. Anglaise (1864).

SCHÉRER.
Études sur la Litt. Contemp. (1863).

P. DE ST. VICTOR.
Hommes et Dieux (1867 *et seq.*).

SARCEY.
(1867 *et seq.*)

FROMENTIN.
Maîtres d'Autrefois (1870).

BRUNETIÈRE.
(1880 *et seq.*)

J. LEMAÎTRE.
(1885 *et seq.*).

FAGUET.
Études Litt. sur le XIX. Siècle.

MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY FRANCE.

LITERATURE.

III. 1848–1895.

Polemics and Eloquence.

Veuillot.

Prevost Paradol.

About.

Dupanloup.

P. Hyacinthe.

P. Monsabré.

P. Didon.

Lamartine.

V. Hugo.

Thiers.

J. Favre.

Picard.

Dufaure.

J. Simon.

Gambetta.

J. Ferry.

Waldeck-Rousseau.

Allou.

De Mun.

Léon Say.

Jaurès.

Philosophy.

Renan.
Œuvres (*passim*).

Taine.
Philosophie au XIXme Siècle Intelligence.

Littré.
Aug. Comte (1863),

J. Simon.
Le Devoir (1854).

Renouvier.
Critique Gener. (1854).

Fouillée.
Avenir de la Métaphys.

Ribot.
L'Hérédité (1870).

Guyau.
Morale Sans Obligation (1884).

Law.

Troplong.

Demolombe.

Faustin Hélie.

Domanget.

Batbie.

Laferrière.

Glasson.

History.

A. Thierry.
Tiers État (1883).

Tocqueville.
Ancien Régime (1850).

Michelet.
Fin de l'Hist. de France (1855–67).

Mignet.

Renan.
Orig. du Christianisme; Peuple d'Israel.

Taine.
Origines de la France.

Fustel de Coulanges.
Cité Antique (1864)

Lavisse.
Le Grand Fréderic (1891)

Sorel.
L'Europe et la Révolution (1885 *et seq.*)

Archæology.

Léon Rénier.

Mariette,

De Rougé.

Oppert.

Maspero.

Boucher de Perthes.

Burnouf.

Political Economy.

Wolowski.
Econ. Pol. (1848).

J. Garnier.
Traité des Finances (1857).

Courcelle Seneuil
Econ. Pol. (1859.)

Léon Say.
Impôts (1886).

F. Passy.
Econ. Pol. (1860–61).

Levasseur.
Les Classes Ouvrières (1867); Science des Finances (1877).

P. Leroy Beaulieu.

Dunoyer.
Econ. Polit.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GOVERNMENTS AND MINISTRIES IN FRANCE FROM 1789 TO 1895.

1789–1792 FIRST REVOLUTION. CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

Louis XVI., King of France and of Navarre.

M. de Barentin, Keeper of the Seals.

M. Necker, Director-General of Finance.

July 12, 1789. The Baron de Breteuil, Head of the Cabinet.

July 16, 1789. Recall of Necker.

September 4, 1790. Resignation of Necker.

September 3, 1791. Promulgation of the First French Constitution.

October 1, 1791. Constitutional Ministry formed by M. de Narbonne and Bertrand de Molleville.

March 19, 1792. Ministry of the Girondists, Dumouriez and Roland.

June 18, 1792. Ministry of the Feuillants, Chambonas and Monteil.

August 10, 1792. Suspension of the king, Louis XVI. Election of a Ministry by the Legislative Assembly under Danton and Roland.

1799. FIRST REPUBLIC. NATIONAL CONVENTION (September 21, 1792, to end of October, 1795).

September 21, 1792. Abolition of Royalty by the National Convention.

Election of Ministers by the Assembly.

Ministers form an Executive Council.

March 25, 1793. Creation of the Committee of Public Salvation.

April 1, 1794. Ministries replaced by Commissions.

August 22, 1795. Constitution of the Year Three.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY (November 2, 1795—November 10, 1799), of which the following were successively members: La Reveillère, Lepeaux, Letourneur, Rewbell, Sièyes, Barras, Barthélemy, Carnot, Merlin (de Douai), François (de Neufchâteau), Gohier, Roger - Ducos, General Moulins.

September 4, 1797. *Coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor.

November 9, 1799. *Coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire.

1799–1814. CONSULATE AND EMPIRE.

Bonaparte, Sièyes, and Roger Ducos, Consuls.

December 13, 1799. Consular Constitution. First Consul: Bonaparte. Second Consuls: Cambacérès and Lebrun.

August 2, 1802. Bonaparte Consul for life.

May 18, 1804. Napoleon I. Emperor of the French.

1814–1830. RESTORATION.

April 11, 1814. Abdication of Napoleon I.

April 14, 1814. Louis XVIII., King of France and Navarre.

May 13, 1814. Dombray-Talleyrand Ministry.

June 4, 1814. Constitutional Charter.

March 19, 1815. Flight of Louis XVIII.

March 20, 1815. Return of Napoleon I. to Paris. Hundred Days. Cambacérès Ministry.

April 22, 1815. Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire.

June 22, 1815. Second Abdication of Napoleon I.

July 8, 1815. Second Restoration of Louis XVIII.

July 9, 1815. Talleyrand, Prince of Benevento, Premier.
September 26, 1815. Duke de Richelieu, Premier.
December 29, 1815. General, Marquis Dessolle, Premier.
November 19, 1819. Count Decazes.
February 20, 1820. Duke de Richelieu.
December 14, 1821. De Villèle.
September 16, 1824. Death of Louis XVIII. Accession of Charles X.
January 4, 1826. Viscount de Martignac, Premier.
August 8, 1829. Prince de Polignac, Premier.
July 29, 1830. Duke de Mortemart, Premier. Flight of Charles X.
July 31, 1830. Ministry of Dupont (de l'Eure).

1830–1848. MONARCHY OF JULY.

Louis-Philippe King of the French.
August 14, 1830. Constitutional Charter.

Premiers under Louis-Philippe.

August 11, 1830. Dupont de l'Eure.
November 2, 1830. Laffitte.
March 13, 1831. Casimir Périer.
May 17, 1832. Count de Montalivet.
October 11, 1832. Marshal Soult, Duke de Dalmatie.
July 18, 1834. Marshal Count Gérard.
November 10, 1834. Duke de Bassano.
November 18, 1834. Marshal Mortier.
March 12, 1835. Duke de Broglie.
February 22, 1836. Thiers.
September 6, 1836. Count Molé (with Guizot).
April 15, 1837. Count Molé (without Guizot).
March 31, 1839. Girod (de l'Ain).
May 12, 1839. Marshal Soult.
March 1, 1840. Thiers.
October 29, 1840. Marshal Soult (with Guizot).
September 19, 1847. Guizot.

February 24, 1848. Odilon Barrot.
Flight of Louis-Philippe.

1848–1851. SECOND REPUBLIC.

Provisional Government (February 24—May 3, 1848), under the Premiership of Dupont de l'Eure.

May 4, 1848. Meeting of the Constituent Assembly. Executive Commission (May 10—June 24, 1848), François Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin.

June 24, 1848. General Cavaignac, Minister of War, is entrusted with the Executive.

November 4, 1848. Constitution.

December 20, 1848. Election of Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be President of the Republic. Odilon-Barrot Ministry.

May 28, 1849. Meeting of Legislative Assembly.

June 2, 1849. Second Odilon-Barrot Ministry.

October 31, 1849. Rouher and d'Hautpoul Ministry.

January 9, 1851. Rouher and Drouyn de Lhuys Ministry.

January 24, 1851. Ministry under Royer and General Randon.

April 10, 1851. Ministry under Rouher and Léon Faucher.

October 26, 1851. Ministry under Corbin and General de St. Arnaud.

December 2, 1851. De Morny's Ministry. *Coup d'état.*

1851–1870. SECOND EMPIRE.

January 14, 1852. Constitution, with Presidentship conferred for ten vears upon Prince Louis Napoleon.

December 2, 1852. Transformation of the Republic into an Empire.

Napoleon III. Emperor of the French.

Principal Ministers under Napoleon III.

1852. De Persigny, St. Arnaud, Fortoul, Magne, Fould, Drouyn de Lhuys.
1854. Billault.
1855. Rouher, Count Walewski.
1858. General Espinasse, Prince Napoleon.
1860. Thouvenel, Baroche.
1863. Duruy, Behic.
1865. Marquis de la Valette.
1866. Marquis de Moustier.
1867. Marshal Niel, Forcade de la Roquette.
1869. General Le Boeuf.
January 2, 1870. Emile Ollivier, Premier.
August 9, 1870. General Count de Palikao.

1870–1871. GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

September 4, 1870. Proclamation of the Republic. Formation of a Provisional Government, comprising General Trochu (President), Emile Arago, Crémieux, Gambetta, Garnier-Pagès, Eugène Pelletan, Ernest Picard, Henri Rochefort, Jules Simon.

1871–1895. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (January 13, 1871—March 8, 1876).

February 17, 1871. Thiers is elected chief of the Executive, and, on August 31, President of the Republic. His principal Ministers were: Dufaure, Jules Favre, E. Picard, Jules Simon, Pouyer-Quertier, V. Lefranc, De Rémusat, Aug. Casimir Périer, Léon Say, De Fourtou, etc.

May 24, 1873. Marshal MacMahon, President of the Republic, Vice-President of the Cabinet until the beginning of the Constitution of 1875.

May 25, 1873. Duke de Broglie.

May 22, 1874. General de Cissey.

March 10, 1875. Buffet.

February 23, 1876. Dufaure.

March 8, 1876. Commencement of the present Constitution, voted in 1875 by the National Assembly.

CONSTITUTION OF 1875.

Presidents of the Republic.	*Premiers.*
Marshal MacMahon (elected May 24, 1873).	March 9, 1876. Dufaure.
	December 12, 1876. Jules Simon.
	March 17, 1877. Duke de Broglie.
	November 23, 1877. General de Rochebouet.
	December 13, 1877. Dufaure.
Jules Grèvy (elected January 30, 1879; re-elected December 28, 1885).	February 4, 1879. Waddington.
	December 28, 1879. De Freycinet.
	December 23, 1880. Jules Ferry.
	November 14, 1881. Gambetta.
	January 30, 1882. De Freycinet.
	August 7, 1882. Duclerc.
	January 29, 1883. Fallières.
	February 21, 1883. Jules Ferry.
	April 6, 1885. Brisson.
	January 7, 1886. De Freycinet.
	December 10, 1886. Goblet.
	May 31, 1887. Rouvier.
Carnot (elected December 3, 1887).	December 12, 1887. Tirard.
	April 4, 1888. Floquet.
	February 22, 1889. Tirard.
	March 17, 1890. De Freycinet.
	February 27, 1892. Loubet.
	December 6, 1892. Ribot.
	April 4, 1893. Ch. Dupuy.
	December 3, 1893. Casimir Périer.
	May 30, 1894. Ch. Dupuy.
Casimir Périer (elected June 27, 1894).	July 1, 1894. Ch. Dupuy.
Félix Faure (elected January 17, 1895).	January 26, 1895. Ribot.
	November 1, 1895. Léon Bourgeois.

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